Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-231
Friday
3 December 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-231 3 December 1993

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Ukraine's Plyushch Speaks on START I at Black Sea Talks *[Kiev Radio]* 1
Estonia's Velliste Addresses CSCE Conference
[MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PRESS RELEASE] 1

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 2 Dec 3
Press Review for 3 Dec 3

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Filatov Discusses Elections With U.S. Ambassador *[Russian TV]* 5
Further on Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 5
U.S. Adm Larson on Cooperation With Pacific Fleet *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 2 Dec]* 5
Prague Paper Publishes Yeltsin Letter on NATO *[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES 2 Dec]* 6
Ambassador to U.S. on Possible Problems With NATO *[Moscow Radio]* 6
Kozyrev Concerned About Ukraine Nuclear Power *[INTERFAX]* 7
Official Says Ukraine 'Publicly Lashed' at CSCE Meeting *[INTERFAX]* 8
Sources Say Black Sea Fleet To Be Cut 30% *[SEGODNYA 3 Dec]* 8
Ambassador to China Discusses Relations *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 2 Dec]* 8
XINHUA Comment on Russian Election Prospects Cited *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 10
Officials Arrive in Bonn for Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Meet With German State Minister *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Hold Talks on Mass Media *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Kozyrev Meets Italian Leaders in Rome *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Ends Visit, Leaves for Brussels *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Official: Yugoslav Sanctions Unlikely To Be Lifted by Jan *[INTERFAX]* 12
Official: Japanese Fishermen Lawfully Detained *[INTERFAX]* 12
ROK Rejects Proposals on Property Compensation *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Saudi Ambassador on Bilateral Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Yeltsin Meets With Kuwaiti Defense Minister *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
Visiting Kuwaiti Defense Minister Interviewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3 Dec]* 13

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Media Issues

Poll Reveals Dissatisfaction With Yeltsin *[INTERFAX]* 15
Zorkin, Luchin Oppose 'Illegal' Suspension Decision *[Moscow Radio]* 16
Will Not Resign 'Under Pressure' *[INTERFAX]* 17
Luzhkov Seen as Possible Candidate for Premier *[ROSSIYA 1-7 Dec]* 17
State Duma Regulations up for Discussion *[SEGODNYA 2 Dec]* 18
Yeltsin Edict on Handover of Local Soviet Property *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 1 Dec]* 18
Text of Yeltsin Edict on State Emblem *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
Appendix to Presidential Decree on State Emblem *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
'Routine Government Sitting' Held *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Nov]* 20
Roundtable Discusses Nationalities, Federation Issues *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Nov]* 20
Staffers Shocked by Personnel Cuts at Ministry *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Dec]* 21
Official Comments on Foreign Missions Edict *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 2 Dec]* 21
Paper Apologizes for Failure To Appear *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 3 Dec]* 22
Poltoranin Outlines Press Destatization Plan *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 1 Dec]* 22

Election Issues

More on Court Ruling on Criticism of Constitution *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 22
Constitution Seen To Reflect New Political Realities *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Political Allies Seen as Elbowing Gaydar *[KURANTY 2 Dec]* 23
Soskovets Speaks on Economic Policy Plans *[Moscow Radio]* 24
Deputy Foreign Minister on Election, New Assembly *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 2 Dec]* 24
Arbatov Attack on IMF 'Shock Therapy' Rebutted *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 1 Dec]* 26
Commission Rejects Shumeyko's Appeal for Ban *[INTERFAX]* 28
Central Electoral Commission Said Short of Funds *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Russia's Choice Denies Using U.S. Funds in Campaign *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 2 Dec]* 28
Zhirinovskiy To Sue Gaydar Over Hitler Comparison *[Moscow Radio]* 29
Outlines Election Program *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 3 Dec]* 29
Democratic Party To Restore World Influence *[Moscow Radio]* 30
Civic Union's Rumyantsev: All Not Yet Lost in Russia *[Moscow Radio]* 30
Federal Assembly Election Program Introduces Three Parties *[Russian TV]* 31
Three More Election Blocs Present Views *[Moscow TV]* 32
Election Program Highlights Parties *[Moscow TV]* 33
Chubays, Fedorov, Gaydar Discuss Election *[Russian TV]* 33
Women's Organization Candidates State Election Aims *[Radio Rossii]* 34
Insurance Firms Express Support for Shakhray *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 2 Dec]* 34
Election Outlook in Light of Past Month Viewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 2 Dec]* 35
Need To Overcome Far East Electoral Apathy Discussed *[Russian TV]* 37

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin to Visit N. Ossetia, Ingushetia 6-7 Dec *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
N. Ossetian Leader on Yeltsin Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 38
Shakhray Discusses Decentralization in Bashkortostan *[ITAR-TASS]* 38
Shakhray Meets Tatarstan's Shaymiyev in Kazan *[INTERFAX]* 38
Filatov, Ryabov Meet With Moscow Region Mayors *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 2 Dec]* 38
No Federation Council Elections in Chelyabinsk *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 2 Dec]* 39
Kaliningrad Poll: Yeltsin Receives 22% Support *[KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 39
Lipetsk Oblast Soviet Withdraws Support for Rutskoy *[IZVESTIYA 1 Dec]* 40
Gas Official Faces Angry Workers in Arctic City *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 40
Sverdlovsk Miners Defy Union Antistrike Decision *[INTERFAX]* 41
Khabarovsk Official on Candidate Registration *[Khabarovsk Radio]* 41

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kravchuk Comments on START, Russian Troops *[ITAR-TASS]* 43
START Requires 'Adequate Decision' *[INTERFAX]* 43
Plyushch Favors Contacts Outside CIS *[INTERFAX]* 43
Plyushch Cites France's 'Restrained' Position *[Kiev Radio]* 43
Turkey Supports Demands for Security Guarantees *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 1 Dec]* 43
Decree Sets Strength of Battalion in Yugoslavia *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 1 Dec]* 44

National Affairs

Paper Says Parliament 'Torpedoed' Energy Law *[DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA 1 Dec]* 44
'Energy Famine' Hits Television, Schools *[IZVESTIYA 1 Dec]* 45
Paper Details 'Elimination,' Reform of Military *[HOLOS NATSIYI Nov]* 46
Defense Minister Promoted to Army General *[Kiev International]* 47
Members of Defense Ministry Commission Confirmed *[UNIAN]* 47
Former Prime Minister: 'No Turning Back' *[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI 26 Nov]* 47
Crimean Civil Congress To Boycott Election *[Kiev Radio]* 48

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Kebich, Russian Counterpart Meet in Valday *[INTERFAX]* 49
Reach Accord on Ruble Zone *[ITAR-TASS]* 49
Kebich Speaks on Combat Readiness to Collegium *[ZVYAZDA 30 Nov]* 49
Data, Controls on Missile Launchers Questioned *[ZVYAZDA 30 Nov]* 50
Parliamentary Commission To Amend Constitution *[ITAR-TASS]* 50

Moldova

Lucinschi, Delegation Return From Kiev *[Bucharest Radio]* 50

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Continues Campaign To Abolish Soviets *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 2 Dec]* 52
Presidium Accepts Nazarbayev Plan To Reform Legislature *[INTERFAX]* 52
Nazarbayev on Guidelines for Using Republic Guard *[ITAR-TASS]* 53

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Yerevan Criticizes Gasanov's Address to CSCE *[ARMENPRES]* 54
Azerbaijanis Reportedly Attack Karabakh Positions *[ARMENPRES]* 54
Tension in Karabakh, Role of Afghans Assessed *[Yerevan Radio]* 54

Azerbaijan

Officer Denies Request Made for Russian Troops *[Baku TV]* 54
Official Denies Arrests Based on Political Views *[Baku TV]* 55

Georgia

First Round of Tbilisi-Abkhaz Peace Talks Ends *[Tbilisi Radio]* 55
Delegation Issues Statement *[Tbilisi Radio]* 55
Shevardnadze Returns From Visit to Ajaria *[SNARK]* 56
Tbilisi, Abkhaz Units Continue Fighting *[INTERFAX]* 56
Ioseliani: Abkhaz Issue Unsolvable Without Russia *[ITAR-TASS]* 57

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Russian-Estonian Talks End Without Agreement 58
Diplomat Notes 'New Complications' *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
Minister: 'No Decisive Results' *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 58
Residence Procedures for Foreign Soldiers Detailed
[MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PRESS RELEASE] 58
Poll Gives Government Lowest Ratings *[BNS]* 59

Latvia

Pavlovskis Signs Agreement With Czech Republic *[Riga Radio]* 59

Lithuania

Slezevicius Says Lithuania Seeks To Join NATO *[ITAR-TASS]* 59
Danish Minister's Radiation Claims Dismissed *[Vilnius Radio]* 60
Results of LDDP Annual Survey on Government *[TIESA 11 Nov]* 60

Ukraine's Plyushch Speaks on START I at Black Sea Talks

LD0212125193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] The second session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Assembly completed its work on 1 December in Kiev. Speaking about the results of the assembly at a news conference, parliament speaker Ivan Plyushch said that the assembly had not approved any final documents through lack of time, but the committee would work on several documents for approval later. He added that the assembly will create a legislative base for a more effective and more favorable cooperation in all spheres of life.

Replying to a question on whether or not the documents adopted at the assembly need to be coordinated with CIS documents, Ivan Plyushch said:

[Begin Plyushch recording] Not a single document among the more than 250 adopted within the CIS framework is working, but with regard to the Black Sea Cooperation Assembly, then I consider that it is a vital organization because not only Ukraine belongs to it, but six countries of the former USSR, including Russia. [end recording]

Replying to a question from a DER SPIEGEL correspondent asking if Russia accepts Ukraine's conditional ratification of START-I and if it is expedient to expect the new parliament to again ratify the treaty, Ivan Plyushch said:

[Begin Plyushch recording] First I want to say that I know about Leonid Kravchuk's conversation with President Clinton in which he said that, in principle the conversation was frank. They agreed that the first important step had been taken, as a result of which the START I Treaty had been ratified and there was no need to return to it. However, it will be necessary to work on the essence and content of those remarks which were expressed by Ukraine's parliament when it ratified this treaty. These remarks concern first the Ukrainian president and how he should act. As the president he can adopt them or reject some of them. He may have his own point of view and can turn to the present or the future parliament for explanations of the points of view. With regard to the statements from the Russian Government, then it seems to me that it is not only brutal in form, but somewhat distorted in content. The reservations made by Ukraine's parliament have nothing to do with the Russian Government because not a single reservation infringes upon any of the norms of the treaty or the agreement concluded between the former USSR and the United States. [end recording]

Estonia's Velliste Addresses CSCE Conference

WS0212115593 Tallinn Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Release in English 30 Nov 93

["Text" of speech by Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste at the CSCE conference in Rome on 30 November—received via Internet on-line services]

[Text] Dear colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would begin my brief remarks by congratulating Italy on assuming the chairmanship of the CSCE and thanking Sweden for a tenure of exemplary leadership.

Dear colleagues,

I have two points to make in the short time allowed. I would begin with a summary of the troop withdrawal issue in Estonia. Thanks in part to the fact that the CSCE has accorded this issue of great importance to us the attention it deserves, we have made a good deal of progress during the past year.

We welcome the final pullout of former Soviet troops from our neighbor to the south, Lithuania. At the same time, our own withdrawal negotiations with Russia continue in starts and stops. Estonia is concerned that Russia continues to demobilize and retire troops on our territory, in contradiction to the obligations Russia assumed in Stockholm and Helsinki to withdraw early, in an orderly manner and completely. In addition, Estonia is concerned that Russia continues to link withdrawal to other conditions, including the construction of housing for withdrawal officers and the provision of social guarantees to retired military personnel living in our country. While we do not consider the lack of housing to be an argument against withdrawal, we understand the concerns of the Russian Federation, and have repeatedly pledged to work with Russia and with a number of Western governments willing to help us build housing in order to reach a mutually satisfactory solution. The second claim of social guarantees is more problematic. I would note that my government's recent order on giving residence permits to retired and reserve officers allows large categories of former Soviet officers to apply for permanent living permits in Estonia. We understand the concerns of our Western friends on this point, and we have sought to address those concerns in a liberal and tolerant manner.

One positive development in withdrawal negotiations came recently when the Russian Federation proposed setting a final pullout date of 31 August 1994. My government welcomes this Russian initiative, and has stated that we can discuss the final date further when we agree both upon a timetable in conjunction with the deadline as well as on the principle that withdrawal will be unconditional. We would also like to see the attack troops currently stationed in Tallinn, the 144th Motorized Infantry Division, leave considerably sooner. We remain optimistic, however, that an appropriate agreement will be signed in the near future and that the final withdrawal of troops from Estonia will soon free space on the CSCE agenda for other pressing concerns.

My second point is one that we, and our senior officials, have spent the last several days discussing, namely peacekeeping. Estonia remains convinced that Chapter III of the Helsinki Document describes a well thought out mechanism for providing peacekeeping, and that no additional mechanisms are needed. Moreover, we believe that the principles upon which peacekeeping is based, that is on

neutrality, international sanction and case-by-case involvement, are solid ones, from which we must not deviate.

We note with great concern the recent effort by the Russian Federation to attain international agreement to a blanket and enhanced role for itself in the territory of the CIS, a role which departs significantly from the principles of peacekeeping I outline above. When considering this Russian appeal for a special role, I would ask you to consider the fact that the Russian Federation continues to propagate its state-sanctioned concept of the Near Abroad, continues to engage in unilateral and destabilizing military activity on its periphery and has recently codified the protection of, and I quote, "its compatriots abroad," unquote, as a central tenet of its defense policy in the form of its new military doctrine.

As I believe we all recognize, these activities do not constitute peacekeeping. To depart, for political reasons, from the existing principles of peacekeeping in force now would be an expression a folly and would, in Estonia's opinion, constitute a new division of Europe—the part covered by so-called Russian peacekeeping mandate, and the rest. Estonia is firmly against any new division of the continent, any New Yalta. For this reason, we must continue to adhere strictly to the principles of peacekeeping already set out in Chapter III of the Helsinki Document.

Using as a departure point the belief that security cannot be divided, Estonia calls again on the CSCE to consider the establishment of regional security tables in the CSCE framework as a well to enhance the security of the continent as a whole. In conclusion, Estonia supports the candidacy of its Finno-Ugric cousins in Hungary for assumption of the CSCE Chairmanship.

Thank you.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 2 Dec

LD0212095693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0843 GMT 2 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 2 (ITAR-TASS)—Russian newspapers continue to give extensive coverage to the election campaign in the country.

"The election race for seats at a new Russian parliament, disputes over the draft constitution which will be put on a referendum on December 12 as well as economic problems, including those on the failure to create a single rouble zone of the former Soviet Union determined the development of the Russian political life in November," the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper writes.

The election campaign is going on against the background of aggravated confrontation in society. However, public polls show that calls by some leaders of irreconcilable opposition to torpedo the elections and the referendum on the draft constitution fail to find support among population, the newspaper states.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper features an interview with Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov running for a State Duma (lower chamber of the new Russian parliament). Asked what the new parliament will be like, the minister replied that "it will be much better than the previous one, democratic forces will win some 60-65 per cent of seats".

Analysing the state of the Russian economy, Fedorov said that "market relations have more or less developed, and we can now control the situation with monetary and credit methods of regulation". "We are on the threshold of stabilisation," the minister added.

The Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA notes that nearly all the election associations and blocs included the military aspect in their election platforms directly or indirectly.

"Agreeing with the need for reforming further the Army and the Navy, they stand out for maintaining a level of the Armed Forces' preparedness, which will ensure normal life for the Russian people and save them from the threat of an ouside attack," the newspaper writes.

The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper writes that economic difficulties experienced by the country are responsible for the fact that nearly a third of the Russian grown-up people do not know (several days before the elections and the referendum) for whom they will vote and whether they will go to the polls at all.

Noting that "losses" were found both in the democratic and opposition camps, the newspaper writes that communists will benefit by this situation. It says that Gennadiy Zyuganov's Communist Party "represents sentiments of the most dissatisfied part of society and, in cooperation with the agrarian party, it is capable of mustering stiff competition to liberal democrats".

The newspaper features an interview with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov where he describes the Foreign Ministry's active participation in the election campaign.

According to the deputy minister, some 100,000 Russians will come to polling stations at Russian Embassies and Consulates in 135 countries.

Krylov believes that the new parliament's main task is to implement the principle of division of powers and to dismantle fully the vestiges of totalitarianism. He claims that Russia will secure a place among civilised democratic states only in this way.

Director of the Russian socio-political centre Viktor Kalashnikov outlines his viewpoint in the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper on prospects for establishing stability in Europe.

In Kalashnikov's opinion, Russia has lost its former key positions as the main guarantor of security in Europe. The author speaks of the need for replacing "the club of victors" which developed after the second world war, with a new structure, more suitable to present-day European realities.

The illustrated daily ROSSIYA makes forecasts concerning a future head of the Russian Government. The newspaper claims that officials versed in personnel reshufflings more often name, in the recent past, the Moscow mayor as a real candidate for this high post.

Replying to ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta noted that a high level of stability is a characteristic feature of Italian-Russian relations.

According to the minister, Italy plans to help Russia in establishing its democratic institutions. Andreatta stressed that Italy "believes in the ability of Russia and its people to reach gradually higher levels of democracy and freedom".

Press Review for 3 Dec

LD0312064593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0605 GMT 3 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 3 ITAR-TASS—Most national newspapers in Russia lead today with news of the electoral campaign.

"It has turned out that the belief in Russia's Choice and other democratic blocs as having considerable advantage in the electoral campaign was exaggerated, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI said. "Until now Russia's Choice has shown the voters nothing more substantial than a little successful and openly propaganda television clip. Faces and voices representing opposition blocs have been much more impressive both on television and radio". The newspaper warns that ten days that remain before the elections are a short time and "it can happen that when the democrats get going, it will be too late to drum up support from the voters".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports on the electoral campaign in Russian provinces. "Meetings of candidates for seats in the state Duma with inhabitants of cities and villages along the Volga show that some of the population are given to political scepticism and know nothing about the programmes of the parties and groupings which have the right to nominate candidates," the newspaper writes. So there is a danger that these people will simply not turn out or will vote against anybody and everybody".

"An opinion poll conducted by sociologists of the Ural personnel centre has revealed that most voters in the Sverdlovsk region consider proposals for solving economic and social problems as central in the electoral platforms of local candidates. The party affiliation of future lawmakers is of little interest to their voters," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says.

TRUD analyses the financial and economic situation in the country and forecasts further growth of inflation. "Beginning from June, the monthly emission has exceeded one trillion roubles a month and in October reached a record-high sum of 1.32 trillion roubles", the newspaper says. "The swelling of the money mass is a true sign of the imminent price jump". Along with this, the newspaper recalls that the arrears in wage payment amounted to 583.6 billion roubles on November 1.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an analysis of the military doctrine adopted by the Russian leadership. Alexey Arbatov, head of the Centre for Geopolitical and Military Prognosis, draws the readers' attention to some points in the doctrine that cause concern. "First of all, this applies to the rejection of the Soviet Union's 1982 pledge not to use nuclear weapons first. If changes to the nuclear doctrine is purely declarative in character, what is then their political meaning and will it not run counter to our long-term interests? If this change to the doctrine provides for a revision of the strategy, operational planning and armament programmes, this can do harm to the strategic stability and arms reduction, the entire logic of which is connected with the elimination of stimuli for the first nuclear strike", Arbatov says. The same newspaper publishes an article entitled "a sad demise of yet another democratic institution in Russia". It comments on a decision by eight judges of the constitutional court to suspend Valery Zorkin and Viktor Luchin. The two judges are charged with violating para 3 of article 14 of the law on the constitutional court. Valery Zorkin is accused of making a public appearance in which he criticised the draft constitution, and Valery Luchin was listed as a candidate for the state Duma from the Agrarian Party. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA predicts that "the suspension of these judges can be viewed as the beginning of an operation aiming to replace the present constitutional court justices with people who fully agree to the ideas of the new constitution". KRASNAYA ZVEZDA comments also on international day of the disabled in Russia. As of January 1, 1993, Russia had 8,200 thousand disabled people, including 300 thousand children under sixteen. In the past two years, the president of the Russian Federation signed 10 decrees and executive orders dealing with the problems of disability and disabled people. Nonetheless, a disabled person can hardly find a job. In 1992, only 17 per cent of the total number of the disabled people in Russia had jobs, while in the eighties they numbered 70 per cent.

Filatov Discusses Elections With U.S. Ambassador

LD0212205393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Video report by correspondent A. Pishchayev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, Sergey Filatov, the head of the president's administration, met Thomas Pickering, the U.S. plenipotentiary ambassador to Russia, in the Kremlin.

[Pishchayev] The main attention at this meeting was devoted to the upcoming elections. Mr. Pickering, the U.S. ambassador, was interested in how the elections would pass off, what the chances were of the constitution being adopted, and what the new parliament would be like.

Replying to the questions about the constitution, Sergey Filatov stressed that, unfortunately, people are poorly acquainted with the articles of the draft basic law. Moreover, some political figures are not infrequently distorting the provisions of the constitution, which naturally stands in the way of correctly understanding it.

Sergey Filatov also expressed concern at the leaders of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and a number of other republics, who openly oppose the adoption the new Fundamental Law. [video shows Filatov flanked by three men chatting to Pickering across the table; the latter is flanked by a man and a woman]

[Begin Filatov recording] Any leader or any organ of state government is bound, according to all rules in force, to ensure the free expression of the voters' will. This is the most important priority. It is altogether inappropriate for leaders to come out with statements along the lines of: Here we will not adopt, here we will not vote. This is, as it were, suggesting to people how they should vote. It should be clear to everyone that today our society should be protected by laws. Everything that facilitates the seizure of power by one person, the creation, so to speak, of confrontation, and the creation of enmity, should be removed. This constitution meets these requirements. [end recording]

Further on Meeting

LD0312072393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2156 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" program]

[Text] Questions of Russo-American bilateral relations were the focal point today at a meeting between Sergey Filatov, the Russian president's chief of staff, and Thomas Pickering, the U.S. ambassador to our country. [video shows Filatov and Pickering, facing one another, with aides, across a table]

There was discussion of specific details relating to the U.S. vice-president's forthcoming visit to Russia in mid-December and the visit of the American president in January next year. The ambassador showed particular interest in the progress of preparations for the elections and the referendum. After the meeting, when answering journalists' questions about the fact that the leaders of a number of components of the federation opposed the adoption of the constitution, Sergey Filatov said:

[Begin Filatov recording] The main thing, it seems to me all the same, is that any leader and any organ of state government are bound, according to all the rules in force, to ensure the free expression of the voters' will. The constitution that has been drafted by the constitutional conference together with all the components of the federation is very necessary to our country today, absolutely necessary. It's a different matter that we shall go on developing and living and that we may make certain amendments. [end recording]

The American ambassador stressed that the words of partnership and even alliance in relation to American-Russian ties did at least express the hope, desire, and goals of American policy in these times, which are so hard for Russia. We hope very much, Pickering said, that the elections and the referendum will be successful, and that this will, in turn, lead to the expansion of democracy, to the continuation of the reform process and to economic stability.

U.S. Adm Larson on Cooperation With Pacific Fleet

PM0212160193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "U.S. Admiral In Favor of Cooperation"]

[Text] Tokyo—"The United States perceives Russia's Pacific Fleet as a force in the Asia-Pacific Region with which it is possible to cooperate positively in order to maintain regional security and stability." Admiral Larson, commander of U.S. Forces in the Pacific Ocean, stated this when answering questions put to him by your ITAR-TASS correspondent at a press conference in Tokyo. He stressed that even three years ago, when he stepped into this post, his answer to the question of relations with the Russian Federation Pacific Fleet would have been diametrically opposite.

C. Larson recalled that the Russian Navy and the U.S. Navy are already carrying out joint tasks to maintain peace, for example in the Persian Gulf, and this is fully in line with the tasks of the current U.S. strategic line aimed at ensuring stability in different regions, which replaced the doctrine of confrontation of the "cold war" times. For the Pacific Region, according to the admiral, this is primarily a question of "observing the balance of forces and preventing any country from claiming leadership over the others and imposing its will on them."

Cooperation in the sphere of ensuring security, the commander stated, is also intended to ensure conditions for the free development of the economy and the implementation of international investments with the smallest risk, which will ultimately lead to the prosperity of the entire region.

"All the players must be seated at one table in the Asia-Pacific Region, so that they can learn to operate together," C. Larson believes.

Prague Paper Publishes Yeltsin Letter on NATO

AU0212093893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 Dec 93 p 6

["Text" of letter from President Boris Yeltsin to representatives of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and France: "Yeltsin's Secret Letter on NATO Expansion"]

[Text] The letter sent by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to representatives of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and France—in which he reacted to the possibility of NATO's expansion to include the Central European states—aroused a great deal of attention and provoked a major response in our country. MLADA FRONTA DNES is the first mass medium to obtain the text of this letter. We publish it below in full in an unofficial translation.

"In correspondence with the practice of directly exchanging views on topical international matters, I would like to share with you some of the impressions that arose from my recent meetings with the leaders of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

"It was apparent from them that these countries—like numerous other states in Central and Eastern Europe—have an express wish to become affiliated to NATO and to achieve in this or another form their complete incorporation into this organization. Naturally, we took the opportunity to confirm the sovereign right of each state to choose its own method for guaranteeing its security, including participation in military-political alliances. We are also aware that the East Europeans do not harbor any nostalgia for the former "cooperation" within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. The general impression is that these countries have reason to expect a certain level of understanding for their security.

"At the same time, however, I cannot but—and I must—express our alarm that the discussions on NATO's future development are concentrating more and more on a scenario that reckons with the Alliance's numerical expansion by admitting the East European countries.

"I inform you candidly that we are inclined toward another course of action, a course of action leading to a truly pan-European security system and reckoning with collective actions (not, however, on the basis of membership in blocs) with the aim of averting the crises and conflicts now engulfing Europe and of resolving them. Security must be indivisible and must be based on pan-European structures.

"The main threat to Europe at the moment is not confrontation between the East and West, but a new generation of ethnic conflicts. The numerical expansion of NATO will make it more difficult to deal with the problem of effectively combating these conflicts. It is necessary to extend the policy of averting crises and asserting peace to the whole continent.

"Naturally, we understand that not every eventual incorporation of East European states into NATO will automatically lead to the Alliance somehow turning against Russia. NATO is not regarded as a bloc that opposes us. Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand how our public opinion could react to such a step. Not only the opposition, but also moderate circles will—undoubtedly—view this as a new kind of isolation for our country, something that diametrically contradicts our logical involvement in the Euro-Atlantic region.

"I would also like to draw your attention to the following fact. It is the matter of the Treaty on the Final Settlement With Respect to Germany signed in September 1990, and particularly its stipulations banning the deployment of foreign troops in the eastern federal laender of the Federal Republic of Germany. The spirit of these stipulations rules out any possibility of a NATO expansion eastwards.

"We are aware of the preparations for an extraordinary NATO summit that is to deal with the discussion concerning strategic changes in the development of the alliance and its tasks under the new conditions. We, in Russia, are interested in the summit adopting constructive decisions that correspond to the radical changes that occurred in Europe and the world. We hope that in the choice of new points of support for eastern policy, a deliberate and unhurried approach will prevail.

"On the whole, we are of the opinion that the relations between our country and NATO should be several degrees warmer than the relations between the alliance and Eastern Europe. The rapprochement between NATO and Russia, including the direct cooperation in advancing peace, could progress at a much quicker pace. It would be possible to include the East Europeans in this process.

"From a long-term point of view, the idea of us joining NATO should not be disregarded either. This notion, however, is presently a purely theoretical one.

"Today, I would like to propose to you and to your NATO partners that we jointly consider the possibilities of satisfying the East Europeans in the field of security.

"For instance, we would be willing—together with NATO—to officially offer them security guarantees with an emphasis on the assurance of sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders, and the maintenance of peace in the region. Such guarantees could be enshrined in a political declaration or a treaty on cooperation between the Russian Federation and NATO.

"Of course, we are ready to discuss other proposals, and we would also welcome an intensification of the Russian-German dialogue in the time preceding the upcoming NATO summit."

Ambassador to U.S. on Possible Problems With NATO

LD0212153393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Comment by Ambassador to United States Vladimir Lukin; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Our bipolar world has shaken off its shackles and ceased to exist. NATO no longer has an enemy, a powerful adversary of the kind it used to have. NATO itself is facing a dilemma. Where does it go from here? How should it reshape itself? It has been suggested that NATO should become more of a political than a military organization. In its military incarnation it would work for the extinguishing of conflicts in some plane or other. But there is a lot of argument over precisely which plane.

But all this lies in the future. At the moment NATO exists, more or less, in the form in which it has always existed. Its military doctrine contains the following principle. We are now partners with Russia. But, just to be on the safe side, we will maintain our strength and structures and keep Russia in mind as a military factor, just in case nationalist or communist forces prevail there, and so on. Naturally I myself do not want these forces to prevail. But in these circumstances we cannot say, from our point of view, that NATO is an absolutely good bloc or that we can look on with equanimity as East European countries, for instance, join this bloc. We have to keep this factor in mind. We think that NATO ought to politicize itself gradually and turn into a more political organization. If that happened, it would open up greater opportunities for rapprochement with NATO on the basis of step-by- step political agreements.

The main problem is the need for us jointly to build systems of European security, build them in such a way as to ensure that we do not create more problems than we solve. If NATO admits East European countries into its ranks and does not admit Russia, this will create more problems. It will create more problems for NATO too because there is a huge array of political conflicts within those countries, including territorial ones. But it will also create problems in the relationship between NATO and Russia. This could stir up very serious and unpleasant sentiment within our country.

Ambassador to U.S. on Possible Problems With NATO

LD0212153393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Comment by Ambassador to United States Vladimir Lukin; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Our bipolar world has shaken off its shackles and ceased to exist. NATO no longer has an enemy, a powerful adversary of the kind it used to have. NATO itself is facing a dilemma. Where does it go from here? How should it reshape itself? It has been suggested that NATO should become more of a political than a military organization. In its military incarnation it would work for the extinguishing of conflicts in some plane or other. But there is a lot of argument over precisely which plane.

But all this lies in the future. At the moment NATO exists, more or less, in the form in which it has always existed. Its military doctrine contains the following principle. We are now partners with Russia. But, just to be on the safe side, we will maintain our strength and structures and keep Russia in mind as a military factor, just in case nationalist or communist forces prevail there, and so on. Naturally I myself do not want these forces to prevail. But in these circumstances we cannot say, from our point of view, that NATO is an absolutely good bloc or that we can look on with equanimity as East European countries, for instance, join this bloc. We have to keep this factor in mind. We think that NATO ought to politicize itself gradually and turn into a more political organization. If that happened, it would open up greater opportunities for rapprochement with NATO on the basis of step-by- step political agreements.

The main problem is the need for us jointly to build systems of European security, build them in such a way as to ensure that we do not create more problems than we solve. If NATO admits East European countries into its ranks and does not admit Russia, this will create more problems. It will create more problems for NATO too because there is a huge array of political conflicts within those countries, including territorial ones. But it will also create problems in the relationship between NATO and Russia. This could stir up very serious and unpleasant sentiment within our country.

Kozyrev Concerned About Ukraine Nuclear Power

LD0212170293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1148 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is "extremely concerned" about the possibility of Ukraine becoming a nuclear power. "At a time when we are concluding the agreement on nuclear disarmament, a new nuclear state is emerging in Europe," he stated in Rome during the signing of the Russian-Italian agreement on cooperation in the elimination of nuclear weapons in Russia. On Italy's behalf, this agreement was signed by Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta.

Kozyrev made it clear that he was not fully satisfied with the results of the talks between the CSCE foreign ministers which finished in Rome on December 1.

The final document of this conference does not contain the Russian delegation's proposals on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Moscow proposed, among other things, that all of the CSCE member-states confirm their adherence to the 1968 treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Department for Security and Cooperation in Europe Yuriy Ushakov told Russian journalists that through Ukraine's fault, the Russian proposals on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons had lost their meaning. As a result of the "scrutiny", said Ushakov, this document had become so ambiguous that the Russian delegation had refused to sign it.

To quote Ushakov, next March the Senior Officials' Committee will resume the discussion of this problem in Vienna.

Last November, the Ukrainian parliament ratified the START-1 Treaty with reservations. Ukraine also joined

the Lisbon Protocol with the exception of its fifth paragraph, according to which Ukraine was to declare its nuclear-free status.

The Russian government stated in this connection that Russia could not recognize the ratification of the START-1 Treaty by Ukraine, because Kiev's reservations distorted the content of this document.

Official Says Ukraine 'Publicly Lashed' at CSCE Meeting

LD0212182793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1622 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Ukraine was "publicly lashed" at a CSCE meeting in Rome, even though Russia failed to include in the final document its nuclear nonproliferation proposal. Such a comment came from a Russian delegate to the CSCE conference.

Meanwhile, the Russian Foreign Ministry's political adviser Galina Sidorova has remarked in regard to the conference's opposition to Russia's initiative, "the absence of a result is also a result."

Concerning the debates on the issue in Rome, she pointed out that the U.S. secretary of State and his British and German counterparts unequivocally spoke in favor of observing the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Accord, whereas the French foreign minister warned against "the spread of weapons of mass destruction in Europe."

Sidorova made it clear that at a NATO's session in Brussels on Friday, December 3, Russia would reemphasize the need to conscientiously abide by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Sidorova meanwhile disagreed with the allegation that the CSCE conference in Rome had, in fact, blasted Russia's efforts to enlist that international organization's support for Moscow's peace work in the former USSR.

The foreign ministers agreed to ask the CSCE's permanent committee to scrutinize the issue and submit its conclusion to the Vienna-based Senior Officials Committee.

Sidorova admitted that some Western partners had so far been viewing the Russian peace-making initiative with caution. "Some of them believe that Moscow hopes to win a blessing for peace-keeping operations in the former USSR", she said.

In her words, in Rome the Russian delegation did not expect any CSCE mandate for peace efforts in the former USSR. Russia was flatly against reducing the CSCE's role to that of monitoring Russia's actions.

As she explained, "instead of monitoring, Russia needs real moral and material support plus joint and vigorous CSCE peace-keeping activity in the post-Soviet space."

As the Russian Foreign Minister's Adviser on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Yuriy Ushakov, has informed Russian journalists accompanying delegates in Rome, the participants in the CSCE conference "failed to eat" the Russian peace proposals in full.

However, in his words, Moscow's initiatives found their expression in the resulting documents concerning such concrete sources of tension in the former USSR as Georgia, Moldova, and Tajikistan.

Sources Say Black Sea Fleet To Be Cut 30%

MK0312083093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 87, 3 Dec 93 (Signed to press 2 Dec) p 1

[Konstantin Parishkura report from Kiev under the "Neighbors" rubric: "Decision on Black Sea Fleet Cuts Is a Surprise for Ukraine"]

[Text] According to information received from reliable sources close to the Black Sea Fleet command, a directive has come to Sevastopol from the main staff of Russia's naval forces concerning a 30% cut in the personnel and the fleet's ships beginning 1 January 1994. It is directed that the command personnel on combat and support ships, as well as in coastal defense units, will be cut 40%.

Rear Admiral Ilya Pivnenko, chief of the Defense Ministry's Main Directorate for Ukraine's naval forces, stated in this connection that had such a directive come from Moscow, he, being the first person in the country who deals with the navy, would have known about it. Hence, the decision on cutting the Black Sea Fleet was taken by Russia's military agency without consultations with Ukraine.

Ambassador to China Discusses Relations

PM0212165393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Igor Rogachev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the PRC, by Pavel Shinkarenko in Beijing; date not given; under the "Diplomat's Rostrum" rubric: "Interest in Russia Is Growing in China"]

[Text] [Shinkarenko] Igor Alekseyevich, it is a year since Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin's first official visit to the PRC. Last December 24 bilateral agreements on cooperation in various spheres of the political, economic, and cultural life of our two peoples were signed. Have they introduced anything new and dynamic into our relations with this country?

[Rogachev] Undoubtedly. As you know, one of the functions of embassies is to monitor the way accords reached at the highest level and at intergovernmental level are being fulfilled. I can say today that the grand program outlined in December 1992 is being fulfilled successfully. More than 25 Russian delegations headed by vice premiers, ministers, and their deputies have visited Beijing. Roughly the same number of Chinese representatives have been to Russia. There has been a still more intensive exchange along the lines of twinned and border regions, production enterprises, businessmen, and scientific and cultural establishments. This exchange has resulted in the signing of dozens

of specific agreements on cooperation and direct links between the state's departments and enterprises, production collectives and private firms. The result is as follows: During the first 10 months of this year our commodity turnover with China reached more than $4 billion. This is the second (after Germany) result in our foreign economic relations with distant foreign countries. [sentence as published] But the reserves for further growth are still far from exhausted.

[Shinkarenko] What are they?

[Rogachev] One such channel is the exchange of commodities in the border zone. Approximately 80 percent of trade is already being realized here today. The administrations of Russian krays, oblasts, cities, and even simply labor collectives have begun entering more actively into business relations with neighbors.

On the Chinese side Harbin, which has become the gateway for entrepreneurs to the PRC's central provinces and to the Russian Far East, acts as the "locomotive." Approximately two-thirds of all the freight destined for border trade passes through this port. In addition, the city is linked by direct air routes with Vladivostok, Blagoveshchensk, Khabarovsk, Novosibirsk, and other Russian cities—which has significantly facilitated businessmen's contacts.

There is brisk trade between neighbors in other regions as well. True, this is not always done competently at present, and frequently it even harms our fellow countrymen. Our partners take advantage of unhealthy competition between Russians. They make skillful use of it, it has to be said, paying wretched sums for our good-quality commodities. I believe that the local administration and associations of commodity producers must play their coordinating role here.

[Shinkarenko] Apart from the potential for trade, what else has been of interest to our emissaries in China?

[Rogachev] The experience of the Chinese reforms was extremely useful to everyone. As you know, the PRC began restructuring the economy along the lines of market relations far earlier than we did, back in 1978. Therefore they have advanced further than us. The result is known: Here the annual rate of growth in the economic sphere reaches 10 or more percent. Last year it was even higher—approximately 13 percent. That dynamism has been maintained this year. So there was something to study.

Many people have come in order to resume former contacts along the lines of twinned cities and to develop cooperation in the spheres of science, education, and culture. We have even set up a special group of diplomats in the embassy to coordinate this work.

The fact that we pay mutual attention to each other is important. In particular, the PRC leaders have shown great interest in developing direct production ties. As you know, approximately 100 plants and factories based on Soviet technology were constructed in Beijing, Shanghai, and many other cities in the fifties. They now need modernizing and reequipping with modern equipment. This can be done best of all with the help of Russia and other CIS countries: This is far more advantageous and inexpensive for the Chinese. Moreover, our technology is closer to the Chinese level. Therefore workers adapt to the new equipment more quickly. This is why the initiative of our industrialists is welcomed.

More than 30 offices of Russian enterprises have already been opened under our trade mission. Their numbers are growing. Recently, for example, there was the launch of the Podolsk Machine-Building Plant office.

[Shinkarenko] There is usually quite a lot of froth and negative phenomena in a matter of great moment—and the restoration of former ties with the PRC, this time on a democratic basis, can be categorized as such without stretching a point. You have already named some of these negative phenomena. What else is of concern to diplomats?

[Rogachev] Our chief concern is to restore the trust of the ordinary Chinese in our country. For it is no secret that an entire generation grew up in an atmosphere of enmity toward the Soviet Union and the leadership of the former USSR and the CPSU. During the years of the cultural revolution even the very memory of our friendship was erased. Of course, old people remember that there were good relations between our peoples. But they are departing, and young people know nothing about Russia. Although a young resident of Moscow or Tula, let us say, hardly has a much better idea about the history of China, its people's distinctive culture, or the country's places of interest. At present the interests of the majority of them are confined to Chinese parkas ["pukhoviki"] and leather jackets.

I believe it will be correct if the present shopping trips are replaced by proper tourist trips to historical and cultural centers in China and if trade ties are tackled by specialists who are competent in this matter.

A Russian military delegation visited the PRC in November. In addition to having talks in Beijing, it visited a number of military installations, including the former Port Arthur, where a major naval base is located. This very fact is a sign of the great trust in our country. But I wish to speak of something else. Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev shared the following idea during his final talk with his Chinese colleagues. Our border with Norway is just 40 km long, he said. But the border guards and the military units stationed there hold joint sports competitions and indulge in cultural recreation. The border with China is 4,300 km long, but there is nothing similar. Although tens of thousands of young soldiers are stationed in this region on both sides. Could they not follow the Norwegians' example and make friends?

[Shinkarenko] The idea undoubtedly merits attention. Other CIS countries, incidentally, could also take advantage of it. For they have their own diplomatic missions in Beijing, do they not?

[Rogachev] Yes, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Belarus have opened their own embassies. Next in line are Uzbekistan, Lithuania, and a number of other countries.

[Shinkarenko] Do they not claim the Russian Embassy's territory and property?

[Rogachev] I wish to remind you that we inherited the plot on which our embassy stands. It was the property of the Russian ecclesiastical mission established by Peter I back in June 1700. The chief point is that the CIS countries' missions are being accommodated in their own buildings, which China is making available on a reciprocal basis: PRC embassies are also getting mansions in the capitals of the countries with which diplomatic relations are being established. Nevertheless, initially we are giving our colleagues in the Commonwealth all the assistance they need—in the form of housing, the services of a typing agency, and transport.

XINHUA Comment on Russian Election Prospects Cited

PM0212155593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Skosyrev report: "Beijing Believes that Communist Victory in Russian Elections Could Lead to Chaos"]

[Text] Beijing—The election campaign in Russia is being closely monitored by Chinese observers. A few days ago XINHUA disseminated a surprisingly frank commentary on this subject.

In the authors' opinion there are three possible scenarios for the development of events after the elections. In the first scenario "Russia's Choice" and its allies gain the upper hand and Yegor Gaydar becomes prime minister. In this case Russia could revert to the radical economic policy of 1992, which will bring in its wake social tension, political confrontation, and an exacerbation of interethnic conflicts. In short, from XINHUA's viewpoint, a "Russia's Choice" victory does not bode well.

But even greater troubles lie in store for Russia should the opposition, in the form of the Russian Communist Party, be successful. In this case there would be a revolt in the country. Parliament would possibly declare war on the government and president, and an authoritarian regime would be established in the country.

In the opinion of Chinese analysts, a victory by "centrist political parties" headed by such figures as Shakhray, Yavlinskiy, Boldyrev, and Lukin, is preferable. In this case Shakhray and Yavlinskiy would take the initiative and form a moderate democratic coalition in parliament. Parliament would be less dependent on the executive branch, the political situation would become more stable, and economic policy would be of the evolutionary type.

Although Chinese commentators cite comments by anonymous Russian politicians, it is highly symptomatic that Russian Communists are not in favor with them.

Officials Arrive in Bonn for Talks

LD0112163193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 1 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn December 1 TASS—Head of the Russian Federal Information Centre Mikhail Poltoranin and Chairman of the Commission for Human Rights under the Russian president Sergey Kovalev, have arrived in Bonn on Wednesday [1 December] at the invitation of the German federal chancellor.

During the forthcoming talks the Russian politicians will inform the German leadership about the preparations for elections to the federal assembly and a nationwide referendum on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation and discuss problems of human rights in Russia.

The talks are expected to focus on the solution of social problems connected with the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany.

Meet With German State Minister

LD0212224393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2043 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn December 2 TASS—Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Russian Federal Information Centre, and Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Commission for Human Rights under the Russian president, met here on Thursday with Berndt Schmiedbauer, German state minister under the federal chancellor.

"The meeting focused on the processes currently under way in Russia, as well as on the situation in neighbouring countries, above all in Ukraine and Kazakhstan. That is on Russia's new geopolitical position and fresh problems," Poltoranin emphasised in an interview with TASS. "Economic instability growing in these republics bordering on the Russian Federation may bring about a vast inflow of refugees to our country. Also discussed at the meeting were the difficulties caused by the withdrawal of Russia's Western Army group from Germany, the main of which are accommodation of officers and social guarantees for them. These problems are also becoming aggravated, specifically following a huge inflow of refugees from the neighbouring countries. To address these issues, we should examine in details the possibilities of German investments to the Russian economy intended for housing construction and creating economic infrastructures," the Federal Information Centre head said.

"Russia is already now shouldering a burden of problems concerning two million refugees, as well as those of disarmament and arms destruction, while the latter should be regarded as a global problem. And the world community should contribute more actively to its solution," Poltoranin stressed.

Later in the day, Poltoranin and Kovalev had a lengthy conversation with Norbert Schefer, an official representative of the German Government, on mass media reforms in Germany and Russia.

Hold Talks on Mass Media

LD0212234393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1332 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy—all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Bonn, 2 Dec—A meeting was held here between Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Russian Federal Information Center (FIC), and Sergey Kovalev, the chairman of the Commission for Human Rights under the President of the Russian Federation, on the one hand, and Bernd Schmidbauer, state minister in the FRG's federal chancellor's administration, on the other.

"During the meeting,—Mikhail Poltoranin emphasized in an interview with the ITAR-TASS correspondent—first and foremost, the processes that are under way in Russia at present and the situation in the countries adjoining Russia, in particular, in Ukraine and in Kazakhstan were discussed. That includes the new geopolitical situation of Russia and the new problems that have arisen. Economic instability which is increasing in these countries adjacent to the Russian Federation could lead to a significant inflow of refugees into our country. Difficulties in the withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces from Germany, which include the necessity of accommodating officers and guaranteeing them social security, were also discussed. These problems are also becoming aggravated in connection with, in particular, the mass inflow of refugees from the countries adjacent to Russia. To resolve these problems a detailed study is needed of German investments in Russia's economy for the construction of housing, and for the creation of economic infrastructures."

"Russia,—Poltoranin continued—is today already bearing the brunt of the problem of 2 million refugees as well as the disarmament and the elimination of various categories of weapons. The latter is also a world problem. This is why the world community should join in on a wider and substantial basis in an effort to resolve this issue."

A detailed meeting was also held today between M. Poltoranin, and S. Kovalev on the one hand, and Norbert Schaefer, an official representative of the FRG Government, on the other, devoted to the issues of the reforming of the mass media in FRG and Russia. Issues that have arisen during the privatization of the former GDR mass media were also examined in detail. "During the meeting it was discovered that we have a lot in common in resolving mass media issues. This concerns, first and foremost, newspapers and electronic mass media as the most capital-intensive. We have a single view on that the concept drawn up by the Federal Information Center is receiving support in FRG: On the one hand one should not keep everything firmly in one's own hands, or on the other hand engage in destroying everything. It is necessary to support the state mass media, in particular, the television network and undertake its stage-by-stage privatization and develop the system of independent mass media," M. Poltoranin said after the conversation.

Kozyrev Meets Italian Leaders in Rome

LD0112221693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2105 GMT 1 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksay Bukalov, Sergey Startsev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Rome, 1 Dec—Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro received Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev at the Quirinale palace this evening. This meeting has commenced the head of Russian diplomacy's working visit to Italy. Earlier, Kozyrev attended a meeting of the CSCE conference of foreign ministers, which took place in Rome from 30 November to 1 December.

During the conversation with the president, prospects for developing bilateral relations and topical international problems were discussed. Kozyrev briefed the head of the Italian state on the progress of democratic changes in Russia and the situation in the country on the eve of elections to the Federal Assembly.

After the reception at the Quirinale palace, Kozyrev had a working meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta. The heads of the two countries' foreign political departments signed an agreement between the Russian and Italian Governments on cooperation in eliminating Russian nuclear weapons, which are being reduced.

On Thursday, Kozyrev will continue conversations with the Italian leaders. He will be received by Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Ends Visit, Leaves for Brussels

LD0212215493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1925 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksey Bukalov, Sergey Startsev, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Excerpts] Rome, 2 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Having completed his working visit to Italy, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev left by plane for Brussels where he will take part in the work of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. [passage omitted on good traditions in relations between Italy and Russia; Italy supports Yeltsin's reforms and promotes various forms of cooperation]

During the talks with Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro and Foreign Minister [Beniamino] Andreatta, which took place in Rome, A. Kozyrev informed the Italian side about the progress of democratic transformations in Russia and about the situation in the country in the run-up to the elections to the Federal Assembly.

An agreement between the governments of Italy and Russia on cooperation in eliminating the nuclear weapons under reduction in the Russian Federation was signed. Russian-Italian relations have gained a new impetus.

It was announced today that Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, is to pay an official visit to Italy 6-7 December. [passage omitted]

Official: Yugoslav Sanctions Unlikely To Be Lifted by Jan

LD0212183593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1622 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] In an interview with Interfax a top-ranking official of the Russian Foreign Ministry expressed the view that sanctions of the world community with respect to Belgrade would not be lifted before the New Year. The thing is that the West does not intend "to make a gift" to the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the eve of the elections to the Serbian parliament scheduled for December 19.

As he said, the upcoming elections affect Milosevic's policy already now as "they restrict his opportunities to maneuver and render pressure on the Bosnian Serbs."

"It seems that "serious work" to settle the Bosnian crisis will begin only after the Christmas and New Year holidays, that is next January-February," indicated the diplomat.

Greece, which occupies "the most loyal position" with respect to Belgrade, is to chair the European Community from January 1, the diplomat noted. "Germany has moved from the camp of staunchest supporters of sanctions to the camp of opponents of these, and this is encouraging," the diplomat believes.

In his words, one should not dramatize the fact that the Geneva meeting to settle the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina held under the auspices of the European Community was fruitless. "After all, fruits are first to be planted and then to ripen," he said.

Official: Japanese Fishermen Lawfully Detained

LD0212194993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1622 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature by Dmitriy Vosboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] The detention of the Yuki Maru fishing boat in the South Kurils Straits by Russian border guards is not likely to cause international complications. The guards acted in full compliance with the Russian legislation, Andrey Kravtsov, a Russian Foreign Ministry official specializing in relations with Japan, told Interfax.

He recalled that Japanese fishing boats were detected in the vicinity of the Zelyony isle, five miles inside Russian waters. That was the reason why a Russian border guard patrol vessel detained Yuki Maru, the diplomat said.

In his words, the Japanese boat did not obey the order to stop and performed dangerous maneuvers. Nets were thrown into the propellers of the Russian border guard vessel. "After a 90 minute chase warning shots were fired with small arms. As a result, the boat skipper Keiichi Loto was accidentally wounded in the soft tissues of his left leg. About a ton of newly caught fish was found in the boat and crabs and a buoy, in its nets. Some of the catch and nets were thrown overboard by the crew during the chase," Krivtsov said.

He emphasized that Loto had signed a document on detention of his boat. It had been tugged into the Ryboza-vodskaya port. The skipper had been hospitalized in the Malokurilskoye settlement. "A criminal case has been opened," Krivtsov said.

In his view, it was "highly probable" that the three man crew would be released following investigation because "they obeyed the captain's orders. "It is up to the court to decide whether the boat should be confiscated," the foreign ministry official said.

ROK Rejects Proposals on Property Compensation

LD0212233393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1405 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Excerpts] Seoul, 2 Dec—South Korea today turned down Russia's proposals on ways for the Seoul Government to pay compensation for Russian-owned land in Seoul which was appropriated in the 1970's. The ITAR-TASS correspondent learned this from diplomatic sources. [passage omitted: historical background]

As part of the consultations which began with the establishment of official relations between Seoul and Moscow in 1990, Russia recently called for appropriate compensation. It proposed that Russia be paid with interest for the value of the land that is now private property, and that the plot of land that has been preserved intact as a municipal park be handed back. The Russian side was informed through diplomatic channels, however, that Seoul does not agree to this and is insisting on monetary compensation alone at old valuations.

Saudi Ambassador on Bilateral Relations

LD0212171293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Anchikov]

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—"Relations between Saudi Arabia and Russia are developing successfully and at a rapid pace," Saudi Ambassador to Russia 'Abd-al-'Aziz Khujah said in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Thursday.

"These relations have a recent history, since there were virtually no contacts between our countries for nearly 50 years," he added. However, the ambassador noted, the situation is changing: The sides restored relations and exchanged embassies.

The Russian foreign minister visited the kingdom. His meetings and talks in Riyadh gave an impetus to the

development of relations and showed mutual understanding on many important issues between the two countries.

"We want to see Russia a united and stable state," Khuiah continued. "Russia's economic upsurge and political stabilisation in the country are of great importance, since its influence as a great power and U.N. Security Council member is not limited to a single area in the world but has an impact on the situation in other regions.

"I believe that our countries have excellent prospects for the development of economic relations," the ambassador noted. "Russia's economic potential is great. Many businessmen from our country would like to actively cooperate with you.

"I think that many joint ventures will spring up after the elections and the stabilisation of the economic and political situation in Russia, while Saudi-Russian economic cooperation will boom rapidly."

Asked about the mid-East situation and the agreement concluded between the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Israel to establish a Palestinian autonomy in the Gaza Strip and the city of Jericho, the ambassador said that Riyadh respects decisions taken by the PLO and other participants in the peace process.

If Palestinians selected this way and if they believe that it serves their interests, "we bless" this agreement. Saudi Arabia is for complete and all-embracing peace in that explosive area of the world for all sides.

"We want peace between us and our neighbours as well as between all other countries." A similar position is held by the Gulf Arab states, Khujah stressed.

The ambassador noted during the interview that there is another chance to develop Russian-Saudi relations: In the sphere of information exchange. In Khujah's opinion, it is necessary to boost cooperation between ITAR-TASS and the Saudi Press Agency as well as between TV and radio companies of the two countries.

Any contacts between the mass media of the two states serve the interests of peoples. "The Russian and Saudi people should know truth about events in our countries, which is the duty of the mass media.

"If we are guided by good intentions and if we succeed in information cooperation, we shall render good service to our peoples," the ambassador concluded.

Yeltsin Meets With Kuwaiti Defense Minister

LD0212165593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—During the Kuwaiti military delegation's visit to familiarize itself with the sights of the Moscow Kremlin, an unplanned meeting took place today between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh 'Ali al-Sabah, who is heading the delegation. A brief exchange of views was held on the prospects for Russian-Kuwaiti cooperation, including cooperation in the military and military technology fields. Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev took part in the conversation.

Visiting Kuwaiti Defense Minister Interviewed

PM0312111993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah by Ravil Mustafin; place and date not given: "Moscow Gains New Allies"]

[Text] As already reported, Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, Kuwaiti minister of defense, paid an official visit to the Russian Federation from 29 November through 2 December.

During the visit the Kuwaiti defense minister was received by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. On 29 November Army General Pavel Grachev, defense minister of the Russian Federation, and Shaykh 'Ali al-Sabah, Kuwaiti defense minister, signed an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the military sphere between the two countries.

The head of the Kuwaiti military department visited one of the Russian missile ranges in Kazakhstan, where he was shown the latest models of military hardware in action, such as the S-300 and "Tor" M-1 air defense missile systems. Shaykh 'Ali al-Sabah also visited the Kubinka Air Garrison near Moscow, where he familiarized himself with the Russian Mi-8 and Mi-26 helicopters, in which the Kuwaiti side showed interest.

Before flying home, the Kuwaiti defense minister met with our correspondent and answered several questions.

[Mustafin] Mr. Minister, what are the results of your visit to Moscow?

[Al-Sabah] I believe that my visit has been very fruitful. During the talks we reached a mutual understanding on a whole series of issues of mutual interest, including our acquiring Russian weapons. We are expecting a Russian delegation to come to Kuwait in the very near future. It will finally settle the technical questions connected with acquiring the weapons which we have asked you for and which we are prepared to buy.

[Mustafin] How do you rate Russian weapons and their combat and handling qualities?

[Al-Sabah] First of all, I wish to say that the strength and might of weapons depend primarily on the skill and talent of the people who produced them, as well as the mastery of the people who use them. Here, too, we had a happy opportunity to see for ourselves the high professionalism of your people who demonstrated these weapons. I must say that the absolute majority of the demonstrated models of your military hardware made a great impression on us. Your weapons are made to high technological standards. They are excellent weapons.

[Mustafin] How is the military-political situation in the Persian Gulf region shaping up at present? Do you believe that Iraq remains a threat to the countries of the region?

[Al-Sabah] Thanks to our cooperation with the great powers, including Russia, which is friendly toward us, the situation in our region appears more stable today, and our country's position more secure. Today we feel more confident in the face of the danger stemming from Iraq. We hope that Russia will continue its present policy of support for Kuwait.

[Mustafin] How do you see Russia's role in the region?

[Al-Sabah] This role appears significant. The agreement which we signed provides for and will ensure the maintenance of stability and peace in the Persian Gulf region. Therefore it can be said that this agreement transcends bilateral relations and should be viewed in a broader, regional context. [Al-Sabah ends]

The documents signed in Moscow undoubtedly attest to the mutual interest of Moscow and Kuwait in the development of bilateral, mutually advantageous cooperation. If Kuwait acquires arms from Russia, this will mean that Moscow, which has lost its positions on the arms market in recent years, will be able to some extent to compensate for its losses by selling weapons to its new ally. It must also be pointed out that Moscow will extend its presence and influence as one of the guarantors of stability and security in the Persian Gulf region.

As for Kuwait, by acquiring Russian weapons this country will begin putting into practice the principle of diversifying the sources of its arms. In accordance with this concept, advanced by Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, the country must equip its armed forces with both Western and Russian military hardware. In the amir's opinion, a policy of arms diversification would enhance his country's security and make it possible in the future to avoid the situation which led to tragic events for Kuwait as a result of Iraqi aggression.

Political & Media Issues

Poll Reveals Dissatisfaction With Yeltsin

LD0212183993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1408 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By the Public Opinion Foundation, Viewpoint's sociological service, and the INTERFAX News Agency; from the "Viewpoint" report of 2 December]

[Text] Political scientists believe that the consequences of the tragic events in Moscow last October will be felt in Russia for many years to come. Proof of this may be found in various opinion polls. One of them was held on November 6 and involved 1,171 respondents, who were asked:

A month has past since the tragic events of October 3 and 4. Are you satisfied with President Yeltsin's performance during this period?

Twenty five per cent of those polled answered the question in the affirmative, but 48 percent were not pleased with Boris Yeltsin. The remaining 27 percent were undecided.

Outstanding Russian painter and philosopher Nikolay Rerekh once remarked that obstacles promoted progress. Back in October 1917, Rerekh's compatriots offered Russia a new principle of existence. However, the obstacles that could have paved the Russian empire's way to a happy future were swept away by the military Bolshevik dictatorship.

It is not easy to talk about Russian political traditions just two months after the bloody clashes in Moscow. However, the Bolshevist syndrome is just the word that comes to one's mind as one tries to analyze the protracted post-Soviet political disease. All the obstacles slowing down radical reform have been eliminated. The president's main antagonists - the parliament, the soviets, and the uncontrollable local elite - have been dissolved, disbanded, or have run scared. What else can Russian citizens demand? And yet, 48 percent are displeased with the current state of affairs.

We do not believe this is exclusively due to the feeling of dissatisfaction typical of the crowd: in other conditions and circumstances the nation strongly supported the reformer. Moreover, the course of reform has never been so strong before. Why all this dissatisfaction? Only the entrepreneurs and specialists with a higher education are more or less content with the president's performance (41 percent and 31 percent are satisfied, respectively, compared to 34 percent and 45 percent, respectively, who are dissatisfied). By contrast, only 6 percent of the unemployed support the president and 62 percent oppose his policies.

Political scientists believe that the discontent with the Russian leader's style and methods of political struggle will hardly have any bearing on the results of the elections. It seems to us, however, that in the absence of an irreconcilable opposition, the authorities may be losing touch with the current political reality.

VOTER AS "HOMO ECONOMICUS"

"Whom will you support during the elections on December 12 - those who promise...

to continue the economic course of the current leadership: 20 percent
to partly change the economic course of the current leadership: 23 percent
to completely change the economic course of the current leadership: 27 percent
it makes no difference: 16 percent
could not answer the question: 14 percent

The election campaign proceeds amid a sharp socioeconomic crisis. This explains why the competing parties and election alliances put a strong accent on the economic issues. As in the April referendum, the government-pursued policies of economic reform are generally supported. Reforms seem to satisfy not only the 20 percent of the respondents who expressed their full backing for the current economic policies, but also many of the 23 percent of the respondents who would like these policies to be partially adjusted.

Until recently, the Russian leadership's economic course was contradictory and influenced by forced compromises. Analysts do not rule out that "partial adjustments of the economic course," is seen by many as a departure from the policy of compromises, adding to economic policy a more reform direction.

Just slightly over one fourth of the respondents reject the economic course linked with the names of Yeltsin and Gaydar, and about one third have not yet shaped any opinion on the problem. Even if they take part in the elections, their choice would be influenced by their personal attitude to political figures rather than economic considerations.

The higher the respondents' financial status, the stronger their support for the government-pursued economic policy. About 38 percent of the respondents belonging to the high-income groups are oriented to the political forces backing the current economic course. Half of the respondents belonging to the group with the lowest incomes do not pin any hopes on political parties or blocs, but, strange as it may seem, oppose fundamental changes in economic policy (only 13 percent of the respondents belonging to this group welcome complete change in the economic course).

Reforms are partially or fully supported by 40 percent of the people with a higher education, 45 percent with a general or specialized secondary education, and 34 percent with an incomplete general education; and by 40 percent of young people, 47 percent of people aged 25 to 54, and 34 percent of senior citizens. A large percentage of young and old people do not attach any special importance to the election promises.

Forty-six per cent of the entrepreneurs fully support the current course and 30 percent, partially. Strong support for the present economic policies was also demonstrated by intellectuals (58 percent), servicemen and workers of law-enforcement bodies (66 percent), and school pupils and

students (45 percent). Rejection of the current course was particularly expressed among the managers of state-run enterprises (36 percent), office workers without a higher education (32 percent), pensioners (31 percent), and workers (30 percent).

Characteristically, although the directors' corps is not large, it is rather influential and its negative attitude to the government's economic policy may complicate the election campaign of the reformist parties and blocs, such as Russia's Choice.

WILL FEDERAL ASSEMBLY BE AN EFFECTIVE BODY?

Following tough confrontation of the legislative and executive authorities, the president and government are believed to be highly interested in having a legislative body which would provide a balance of political institutions, an essential ingredient of civilized society. In this context, it is very important to know if the voters pin their hopes for political stability on the upcoming parliamentary elections. Sociologists tried to find an answer.

Will the new Russian parliament contribute to overcoming the crisis?

Nearly a third, 32 percent, thought that it would. Every fourth respondent felt that nothing would change. Every sixth thought that the crisis would take a turn for the worse. Twenty-seven percent did not know.

Over 40 percent of the voters are not optimistic, since the 27 percent who have no opinion on the subject may be classified with the pessimists.

This structure of the public opinion, sociologists believe, is attributable to the fundamental fact that parliamentarianism has not taken root in the Russian political culture and parliament is not regarded by a majority of the population as an essential element of political life which will eventually make their life better.

Socio-demographic analysis of the responses is quite enlightening.

People in the higher income brackets, the young, those of active age, and the highly educated tend to be optimistic about parliament's chances to contribute to resolving the crisis. This view if expressed by more men, 37 percent, than by women, 28 percent.

Servicemen and law enforcement personnel top the list of those who pin hopes on the new parliament (56 percent), followed by intellectuals (40 percent) and entrepreneurs (38 percent). Housewives were extremely pessimistic (only 18 percent), followed by directors of state-owned businesses (24 percent) and pensioners and jobless (29 percent).

One important finding was that directors of state-owned businesses were inclined to think that nothing was going to change. This view was shared by 34 percent of them.

This figure is alarming. Their view is a kind of expert analysis, for directors accounted for a large fraction of the former quasi-parliament membership in the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. What is more, they are in continuous contact with the state authorities.

Analysts offer an explanation of this pessimism on the part of directors saying that directors view the political process in terms of "production" and are the first to feel the actual results of political changes which tend to disrupt still further the country's economy. The directors probably do not believe that the proposed structure of the state authority is truly new or is suitable to Russia.

Zorkin, Luchin Oppose 'Illegal' Suspension Decision

LD0212162893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1320 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] [Announcer] Earlier today we reported on a news conference held at the Constitutional Court. My colleague here in the studio, Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, now has the details. Go ahead please:

[Ruvinskiy] I remind you that yesterday's session of the Constitutional Court decided to suspend two members—Viktor Luchin and Valeriy Zorkin. Today these two judges held a joint news conference. They regard this decision as being illegal. I wish to play you a few extracts from what they said at today's news conference.

[Begin recording] [Zorkin] I was shaken yesterday by the hatred manifested on the faces of some of those present. Until you get out of here we cannot do any work, they seemed to be saying. This creates a terrible impression because it is humiliating. It tells all the citizens of Russia that justice, as well as politics, is turning dirty. This creates a terrible impression. First and foremost I regard this as an attempt to settle political scores.

Yesterday we were accused of getting involved in politics. What kind of politics, I ask? The law on the Constitutional Court says that judges cannot be suspended more than a month after such political activity comes to light. So I do not think I could be suspended for my political activities in May or June, if political activities they were. It is for what is happening now, but I have been ill for the last six weeks. So what political activity could I have been involved in? Apparently I am accused of giving press interviews and criticizing the constitution—the draft constitution, I should point out. In other words, we are not allowed to speak badly of the constitution. I know this for a fact—members of the government said so recently. These gentlemen have been insisting that neither the constitution nor the president can be criticized.

What, then, are these conditions that we are living in? The law is the mathematics of liberty, so it is said. What remains of the law, of liberty, in these circumstances? I will not resign under pressure from any one. There is nothing which says I should resign if I am threatened. I have sworn to perform certain duties—and I will carry out those duties.

[Luchin] No threats will force me to resign either. If I do resign, it will be of my own volition, after deciding that I should do so. I am not demanding any one's resignation,

including that of Ametistov and Vitruk, or any other of my colleagues. In accordance with the law each judge operates independently, autonomously, in his own personal capacity.

[Zorkin] I wish once again to draw the attention of those present to the following point. I think it is absurd for judges whose powers have been suspended...

[Luchin, interrupting] ...to suspend.

[Zorkin continuing] ...to suspend other judges. That is the legal issue at stake, as far as I am concerned.

[Luchin] In other words, we have been shot twice. First, the president suspended our powers, and now our colleagues are doing the same. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] I remind you that those were extracts from the news conference given by Constitutional Court judges Viktor Luchin and Valeriy Zorkin. As our listeners will themselves have concluded, the situation that has developed at Russia's Constitutional Court is certainly an extraordinary one.

Will Not Resign 'Under Pressure'

LD0212181593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Valeriy Zorkin and Viktor Luchin told newsmen in Moscow on Thursday [2 December] that they would not resign "under pressure." They dismissed the constitutional court's [CC] decision to strip them of judicial powers as "illegal."

The court suspended on Wednesday both arbiters' powers "for involvement in political actions." As is known, the activity of the court itself was suspended by a presidential decree on October 7.

CC ex-Chairman Zorkin claimed at a news-conference that although he was accused of censuring the draft constitution he had the right to criticize it. He argued that although a Constitutional Court judge "must stand for an endorsed constitution, he was entitled to censure its draft." As for the verdict, he described it as "running counter to the principle of free speech."

He also stressed that it had been passed in violation of the voting procedure since, given the required quorum of 9 persons, only 8 had cast their votes.

Meanwhile, Luchin has declared that the verdict was prompted above all "by the desire to change the alignment of forces in the constitutional court in favor of the president's supporters."

Luzhkov Seen as Possible Candidate for Premier

MK0112131293 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 49, 1-7 Dec 93 (signed to press 30 Nov) p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Yevlakhov under the "Power" rubric: "Yuriy Luzhkov Slated for Post Number Two?"]

[Text] While political scientists and journalists are mainly preoccupied with the problem of which of the blocs are going to win the elections for the new Russian parliament, in government corridors they are discussing the question of who is going to head the cabinet in the predictable future. Despite the fact that the president has repeatedly stated his intention to keep V. Chernomyrdin in this position, and even Russia's Choice has said some words in his support, it is too early to think that the problem is over. Political figures have conditioned us to take none of their words as being final, and chances are that some other candidate may come to light again—like Ye. Gaydar, for example. Not he alone, perhaps?

Officials who know more than others about reshuffles have lately been naming the mayor of Moscow more and more as a real prospect for this high post. One can of course doubt the truth of these rumors. There is another thing that is indisputable. During a little more than two years, Yuriy Luzhkov has evolved from an obscure vice mayor of the capital into a most influential figure on a national scale. More, he is perhaps the only leader whose rating has grown rather than fallen while he has been in power. A characteristic trait: Residents of Petersburg, which is consistently vying with the capital, have lately been saying increasingly that they envy Muscovites, referring to their energetic head of administration. As little as three years ago, Moscow projected more than a provincial look compared to traditionally western Petersburg. There is no longer such an impression today. Standing some place outside the modern shop windows a short step from the Moscow Art Theater and looking at the huge McDonalds' building from across the Central Telegraph Office, you can very well take that part of the city for a block in Paris or Sao Paolo. The historic mansions in Zamoskvorechye that were crumbling only yesterday have been transformed beyond recognition. The church of the Icon of Mother of God of Kazan has reappeared in Red Square in record time. The rebuilding of the Christ the Savior cathedral will be starting soon. Judging from the Moscow mayor's confident statements, this project, as indeed the "City" project in Krasnaya Presnya, will be carried out. Unlike the multitude of blabbering and promise-making politicians, the Moscow mayor has always been as good as his word, be it his nearly fantastic promise to procure sugar for sale against ration cards in the hungry November 1991, or his assurances to give teachers and doctors—the less-paid part of city residents—at least a small pay raise.

The Congress of People's Deputies undoubtedly added in some way to Luzhkov's popularity when it demanded that he take an oath of allegiance and threatened him with dismissal, only to hear the short rejoinder: You would not be able to do that. The many millions of viewers saw even then that this leader knows how to take a punch. "New Wave" politicians have rather succeeded in engineering splits and making enemies out of friends. As for Luzhkov, he made his former opponents his allies when he successfully put in key administrative positions both Democratic Russia proteges and [Communist] party functionaries capable of accepting new conditions. He ably gambled on promising financial-political groupings by means of which he in one way or another took control of a certain part of the press.

When Gavriil Popov was implementing his idea to bring together democrats and the nomenklatura, he invited Luzhkov to run together with him in the elections and thereby avoided the mistake made by Yeltsin and Sobchak. Unlike Vice President Rutskoy and St. Petersburg Vice Mayor Shcherbakov, Luzhkov has had no "electorate of his own" and his voters were the same who voted for Popov. This became the most important tool for preventing situations where one set of political forces backs the "boss" and the other set backs the "vice boss," thereby inevitably propelling the latter to embrace the opposition.

There is, however, yet another circumstance that may play the decisive role in the presidential entourage's preference to see Yuriy Luzhkov, of all people, in the second most important office in the land. Having taken power in the capital from Popov's hands, he did not go and replace his predecessor's team. This is of course a reassuring sign that he would not attempt a similar thing in the future either.

State Duma Regulations up for Discussion

MK0212115993 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 86, 2 Dec 93 (signed to press 1 Dec) p 2

[Petr Zhuravlev report under the "Legislators" rubric: "Parties Revise State Duma Regulations. Boris Zolotukhin Exhorts Deputies To Vote By Show of Hands"]

[Text] The Commission for Legislative Proposals under the Russian Federation president continues work on State Duma regulations and on draft laws to be submitted to the future parliament for priority ratification. During the commission's scheduled session at the end of this week, Mikhail Mityukov and his colleagues are planning to look at amendments to and remarks about the draft regulations drawn up by working groups of the consultative conference of electoral blocs made up of representatives of all 13 organizations vying for seats in parliament.

Generally, regulations of the State Duma, which will define in legal terms the mechanism of its workings as well as the internal relationship between the structures of the lower chamber, will differ from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet regulations considerably. The drafters will have to formulate in it a new method of forming the chamber (half the deputies will be elected from party lists), to guarantee that the Duma is autonomous within the framework of its competence, to preclude right from the start the chances of appearing to have authoritarian tendencies and arbitrariness. With this in mind it is proposed, for example, that the chairman of the chamber should not be given administrative and executive functions; those should go to a special committee comprised of representatives of all the factions. Instead of a presidium the State Duma will have a Conference, which will periodically map out guidelines and elaborate specific plans of sessions.

Electoral blocs' representatives, who have proposed their amendments to the draft regulations, on the whole agree to accept as a basis the text created by Mr. Mityukov's commission. During yesterday's plenary meeting of the consultative conference, however, the heads of its working groups pointed out a number of important drawbacks of the document. For example, Sergey Panin of the Agrarian Party, who heads the group for the elaboration of proposals for the regulations proper, stated that the proposed regulations contain no mechanism whereby a parliamentary minority could use their rights. It contains no mention of immunity for the Duma's premises and property ("In the event of forces majeures," he remarked), the procedure for the participation of factions of deputies in the making of laws has not been formulated fully enough. Mr. Panin advised that members of his group offered a choice of three versions of this procedure: Factions will draw up draft laws and straighten out questions under debate; factions will only straighten out questions under debate, while draft laws will be elaborated by specialized committees; and finally, factions will define the strategic line of future laws, and the committees will follow this line and work on the details. It is apparently for the Commission for Legislative Proposals to choose.

Anatoliy Kovler (Russia's Choice), head of the group preparing top-priority laws for the State Duma, for his part, criticized the item on the draft regulation that says that the main role in the drafting of laws and proposing them to parliament belongs to organs of the executive branch. In Mr. Kovler's opinion, the Duma regulations should be designated as temporary because deputies gather only for as little as two years. The Kovler group proposes that added to the list of top-priority draft laws should be one on political parties that should be granted the right to take part in public expert examination of laws and send their representatives to the committees' sessions. It is also being proposed to determine whether a party can recall from parliament a deputy elected from its list. Another law included among those that should be passed on a priority basis is the one on government.

Speaking at the close of the session, Boris Zolotukhin, deputy chairman of the Commission for Legislative Proposals, stated that it is necessary to think about and include in the draft regulations of the State Duma a procedure for rejecting voting by secret ballot and for the use of an electronic voting system. This, Mr. Zolotukhin thought, would help to prevent abuse and vote rigging.

Yeltsin Edict on Handover of Local Soviet Property

PM0212152793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 2

[Edict No. 2005 of the Russian Federation President "On Measures To Ensure the Safekeeping of Property of the Soviets of People's Deputies," dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 26 November 1993 and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] With a view to ensuring the organized transfer of the property and records of soviets of people's deputies to the newly formed representative organs of state power, I decree:

1. It is laid down that:

for the period from the day the deputies to the new representative organ of power are elected until it starts

work, leadership of the apparatus of soviets of people's deputies at kray, oblast, city of federal significance, autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrug level, which retain their powers until election day, will be exercised by the chairman of the relevant soviet of people's deputies exclusively for the purpose of preparing a better organized transfer of property and records from the outgoing soviet of people's deputies to the new representative organ of power;

no change in the number of permanent staff and the structure of the apparatus of soviets of people's deputies at kray, oblast, city of federal significance, autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrug level will be permitted during the period until the new representative organ of power starts work;

the premises occupied by soviets of people's deputies at kray, oblast, city of federal significance, autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrug level, as well as any property attached thereto, must be transferred to the new representative organ of state power.

2. The present edict comes into force on the day of its publication.

[Signed] President of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 26 November 1993
No.2005

Text of Yeltsin Edict on State Emblem

LD0212002093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 1 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The text of the edict on the Russian Federation state emblem, which was issued by Russian Prresident Boris Yeltsin on 30 November, was distributed here today. It says:

For the purposes of restoring the historical symbols of the Russian state, and considering that the state emblem of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic has lost its symbolic significance, I resolve:

1. To approve the statute on the state emblem of the Russian Federation and the design of the state emblem of the Russian Federation.

2. To stipulate that the statute on the state emblem of the Russian Federation operate until the entry into force of the relevant law.

3. To stipulate that reproduction of the state emblem of the Russian Federation is mandatory:

On the forms and seals of the president of the Russian Federation, the chambers of the Federal Assembly, the Government of the Russian Federation, the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, and the Supreme Court of Arbitration of the Russian Federation from 1 January 1994;

On the forms and seals of the central bodies of federal executive authority and also diplomatic missions, consular establishments, and other official representations of the Russian Federation abroad from 1 February 1994;

On the forms and seals of other bodies of state authority from 1 January 1995:

In other instances stipulated by the state on the state emblem of the Russian Federation, from 1 January 1996.

4. To deem that the decree of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet of 22 January 1981 "On Approving the Statute on the State Emblem of the RSFSR" is no longer valid.

5. The present decree comes into force from the day of publication.

Appendix to Presidential Decree on State Emblem

LD0212060893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1150 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] **STATUTE ON STATE EMBLEM OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION (Appendix to decree by president of Russian Federation [RF] of 30 November 1993)**

1. The State Emblem of the Russian Federation depicts a gold double-headed eagle on a red heraldic shield; above the eagle are three historical crowns of Peter the Great (two small crowns are above the heads and above them is a larger crown); the eagle holds in its talons a scepter and an orb; on the red shield on the eagle's breast is a horseman striking a dragon with a lance.

2. It is permitted to reproduce the State Emblem of the Russian Federation in a monochrome version and also in the form of its main figure—the double-headed eagle.

3. The State Emblem of the Russian Federation (its multicolor version) is depicted on letterheads of federal laws, decrees and instructions of the president of the Russian Federation, resolutions and instructions of the government of the Russian Federation, decisions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, and the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation.

The State Emblem of the Russian Federation is depicted on the letterheads of:
the president of the Russian Federation;
the chambers of the Federal Assembly;
the government of the Russian Federation;
the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation;
the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation;
the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation;
the central bodies of the federal executive power;
the federal courts;
the Procuracy of the Russian Federation;
the Central Bank of the Russian Federation;
the Plenipotentiary for Human Rights;
the Telling Commission;
the diplomatic missions, consular establishments and other official missions of the Russian Federation abroad.

4. The State Emblem of the RF is depicted on the passports of citizens of the RF or documents replacing them and also on other documents issued by the state authorities of the

RF. The State Emblem of the RF is depicted on the emblematic stamps of the state authorities of the RF.

5. The State Emblem of the RF is depicted on the official residences of state authorities, in the office of the President of the RF and on his means of transport, in the conference halls of the chambers of the Federal Assembly, in the conference hall of the government of the RF, in the conference halls of the federal courts and in the office of the Plenipotentiary for Human Rights; in the office of the Procurator-General of the RF and also on the buildings of diplomatic missions, consular establishments and other official missions of the RF abroad.

6. The State Emblem of the RF is depicted on the frontier signs (principal frontier posts) and crossing-points of the state frontier of the RF.

7. The State Emblem of the RF may be depicted:
on banners and flags of the Armed Forces of the RF, the

internal troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RF

and the Frontier Troops of the Ministry of Security of the RF;

on badges of rank of military servicemen, the ordinary and the

general staffs of the internal affairs bodies and also on the

uniform dress of the diplomatic personnel of the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs of the RF.

8. The State Emblem of the RF may be depicted on banknotes, orders and medals of the RF.

9. Other cases of the official reproduction of the depiction of the State Emblem of the RF are established by the President of the RF.

10. The procedure for manufacturing, using, storing, and destroying letter-headed paper and stamps with the reproduction of the State Emblem of the RF are established by the President of the RF.

11. Control over the observance of this Statute is entrusted to the State Herald under the President of the RF.

'Routine Government Sitting' Held

PM0112150393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 2

[Unattributed untitled report under the "From the Government Desk" rubric]

[Text] The resolution "On the Creation of a Single State System of Environmental Monitoring" has been adopted at a routine government sitting. The overall leadership of the new structure's activity has been entrusted to the Russian Federation Ministry of the Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources. A number of ministries and departments (including the Ministry of Fuel and Energy, the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry, the State Committees for Machine Building, Metallurgy, and others) have been instructed to ensure the introduction at their subordinate enterprises, and in organizations and associations, of systems for detecting and monitoring discharges and disposal of contaminating substances into the environment, as well as other sources of anthropogenic influence.

The was discussion of the question "On the signing of an agreement between the Russian Federation State Committee for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and the Elimination of Natural Disasters and the UN High Commissioner's Administration for Affairs of Refugees on supporting operations to render emergency humanitarian aid." A relevant resolution was adopted which determines the standby capabilities of the Russian State Committee for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and the Elimination of Natural Disasters which will be maintained in a state of readiness for deployment to conduct emergency humanitarian operations of the UN High Commissioner's Administration at its request. The procedure for deploying forces and resources for participation in these operations was also ratified.

By a government resolution (No. 1234 of 25 November), the Council for Industrial Policy under the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government has been renamed the Council for Industry and Entrepreneurship under the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government. According to experts, behind the "change of sign" lies the Russian Government's desire to strengthen its influence on the corps of directors which constitutes a buttress for Arkadiy Volskiy's Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, which is noticeably losing points.

The "Statute on the Russian Organizing Committee To Prepare and Carry Out Measures To Mark Memorable Dates in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" has been ratified. The committee's main tasks are participation in the elaboration and implementation of a state program to prepare and hold anniversary events aimed at reviving and strengthening the Russians' patriotism and national pride and enhancing the Russian state's international prestige, as well as bringing together, for the purpose of this work, the leaders of kray, oblast, and city administrations, enterprises and associations of all forms of ownership, social and religious organizations, creative unions, and citizens during the preparation and celebration of the memorable dates. Funding of the activity of the Russian committee is from the resources of the Russian Federation republic budget, as well as voluntary contributions, payments, and gifts from domestic and foreign enterprises, institutions, organizations, and individuals.

Roundtable Discusses Nationalities, Federation Issues

PM0112145893 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Yelena Musatova: "Conflict Situations on the Agenda"]

[Text] A "roundtable" devoted to the problem of nationalities policy and ways of overcoming ethnopolitical crises took place in the Moscow Parliamentary Center Saturday.

The leaders of political parties and social movements, scientists, and representatives of various religions took part.

The main themes of the "roundtable" were, as was to be expected in the light of the examination of the draft new Constitution, the organization of the federal structure of Russia, the demarcation of powers between the center and Federation components, ways of resolving conflict situations, and also the principles of national-cultural autonomies.

Speeches noted that the process of democratic reforms in the Russian Federation is closely linked with the rise of national self-awareness and a desire on the part of the peoples of our country for the bases of public life to have an autonomous structure. At the same time, in conditions of social crisis and political instability this process prompts the weakening of statehood, the growth of interethnic contradictions, and the violation of civil peace.

Those present unanimously favored the participation of all parties and movements in elaborating and implementing a state nationalities policy.

Staffers Shocked by Personnel Cuts at Ministry

PM0212091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Olga Burkaleva: "Gosplan Slims to Half the Size"]

[Text] This step had been long-expected, since the economic reforms begun in the country as of January 1992 also dictated changes to the functions of the Ministry of the Economy. It was formed from the merger of the USSR and RSFSR Gosplans [State Planning Committees] following the 1991 putsch.

The other day an order was issued on a partial change to the structure of the Ministry of the Economy, which envisages reorganizing five ministerial subdivisions and halving staff numbers. Officials who had worked for decades at a building that personified the era of victorious socialism greeted the reorganization news without any particular enthusiasm. More accurately, the news came as a bit of a shock.

Specialists will most probably find places in the reorganized ministry. But what will be the reaction from the apparatus, which will clearly be the main area affected by the cuts? After all, the apparatus is known for its ability to survive and revive, and often achieves this by means of an uncompromising and tough fight for its existence. Who will win this time round?

Official Comments on Foreign Missions Edict

PM0312093793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3

[Article by Pavel Shinkarenko: "Where Embassy Is To Be Accmmodated"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has signed an edict on several issues of the accommodation and servicing of foreign missions in the Russian capital.

The need to improve the system for the accommodation and servicing of foreign missions in the capital is obvious: With the intensification of reforms, the expansion of the international market, and the connected development of our country's political, trade and economic, and cultural contacts with the outside world, the number of foreign guests in the Russian capital increases. The volume of their work is increasing. And this requires new offices, residential buildings, and sociocultural centers. Until recently concern for them was manifested mainly by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry's main production and commercial administration for servicing the diplomatic corps. But today its potential is exhausted.

"Right now we are servicing over 150 embassies and missions, 300 correspondents' points, and over 1,000 missions of commercial firms, banks, and companies accredited to Moscow, and over 25,000 people," I am told by Yuriy Proshin, chief of the main administration for servicing the diplomatic corps. "We are pleased to have guests. But apart from that feeling we must also display attention toward their needs, be concerned to accommodate people in comfortable offices and apartments, to provide trade and consumer services, and organize proper leisure activities. This stems directly from our duties under the Vienna convention and other international agreements. Today it is difficult to do all this solely through the efforts of the diplomatic department. A special decision of the president was needed, instructing the State Committee for the Administration of State Property and the Moscow government to join in this matter."

My interlocutor explains that the new edict stipulates that buildings, installations, and other establishments including land plots attached to them are federal property. At the same time it confirms that all these establishments, and it is a case of approximately 1 million square meters of housing and official premises constructed using central budget funds and the administration's own funds, are under the jurisdiction of the administration for servicing the diplomatic corps. The Foreign Ministry and other departments involved are told to introduce proposals for the participation of the Moscow government in providing facilities for foreign missions and for the procedure for compensating expenses from the Moscow budget on the accommodation and servicing of foreign missions.

"We hope that the president's edict and subsequent actions by the Russian State committee for the Administration of State Property and the Moscow Government will enable us to confirm once again our people's world-famous hospitality," Yuriy Proshin, chief of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Main Administration for Servicing the Diplomatic Corps, stressed.

Paper Apologizes for Failure To Appear

PM0212201793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Editorial office announcement: "Esteemed Subscribers!"]

[Text] The editorial office apologizes for the fact that it is forced to suspend publication of the newspaper from time to time,

The point is that the editorial office's debts to associated plants exceed hundreds of millions of rubles. Prices of newsprint, printing, and mail and cable services have risen by a factor of five or six since the beginning of the year but the Ministry of Finance has indexed our expenditure only by a factor of 1.8.

The newspaper has for a long time now been publishing on credit. The time has come when everyone is at the end of their tether. And whereas, for instance, the "Pressa" Publishing House in Moscow at least informed the editorial office in advance that it is ceasing to print the newspaper, publishing houses in other Russian cities are merely ceasing publication, and that's that. You can understand them. But the editorial office is not to blame—according to contract, the sponsor should provide the newspaper with funds. The sponsor is now the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government. But it too is having a tough time.

Large sums of money are needed. Whether they will be allocated or not is being decided at the highest level. If they are, the newspaper will publish as scheduled and will even repay its debts to subscribers by increasing its number of pages. But if not, then that's it: ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA will cease to publish.

Poltoranin Outlines Press Destatization Plan

PM0212153193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 1

[Nikita Dubrov report: "Mikhail Poltoranin: 'Journalists Will Run All Newspapers by Next March'"]

[Text] Speaking to regional journalists at the Russian Press House, Mikhail Poltoranin said that, in his capacity as Federal Information Center leader, he had made a proposal to the president to remove all printed media from the authority of state structures. In accordance with Poltoranin's idea, the press reform's first stage should be carried out under the sponsorship of the president, who has approved this proposal. It is planned that all periodical publications, ranging from central to regional ones, will run by their own collectives already by early March 1994. Publications will be provided with state funding during their stage-by-stage destatization in 1994. According to Poltoranin, the president also supported the idea of tax concessions for nonstate mass media and exempting them from paying duties.

Election Issues

More on Court Ruling on Criticism of Constitution

PM0312104193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Leonid Nikitinskiy report: "Court of Arbitration Notices Shumeyko's 'Foul,' However It Is Not Empowered To Show Red Cards to Offenders During Election Campaign"]

[Text] At its latest session the Information Arbitration Court [IAC], founded by the president specially to oversee observance of information guarantees during the election campaign, examined several concrete matters and gave a number of explanations in response to inquiries from the Central Electoral Commission [CEC].

In particular, the court explained that all printed or electronic mass media that received state budget subsidies, including from the budget of local self-government organs, in the fourth quarter of 1993 for the production, publication, or circulation of their print runs are ranked as mass media which are fully or partially funded by the state and are accordingly obliged to adhere to the framework laid down in the president's edict in covering the election campaign.

In response to questions asked by journalists present, the judges went on to say that the above newspapers, which must without fail print information they are sent by the CEC or the court of arbitration itself, also include PRAVDA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which received the corresponding state subsidies. The court also made a separate comment regarding ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, which failed to publish in a timely manner the explanation that it had been given by the court of arbitration regarding the topical question of the possibility that candidates and election blocs might criticize the draft constitution which is to be submitted to a referendum—a question that has thrown the election campaign into disorder.

This IAC explanation was provided three days before Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, a candidate deputy and chairman of the government's referendum commission, made his sensational statement; as you know, he said that blocs and candidates which have registered for elections to the Federal Assembly have thus, as it were, attested to their loyalty to the draft constitution. In this connection Shumeyko advised the CEC that blocs and parties such as Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation and Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia which have been sharply opposed to the adoption of the constitution in the course of election debates, should be deregistered.

On the other hand, the court of arbitration's explanation, which was not published on time, confirms the lawfulness of a critical analysis of the draft constitution, including during the election debates, provided that this criticism is backed up by clear argument and concrete alternative proposals, does not go beyond certain bounds of propriety, is not transferred to individuals, and does not become the

sole topic of election statements, the main content of which should nonetheless, according to the current regulations, remain the exposition of the candidates' own election programs.

The IAC in effect wholly and unanimously repudiated Vladimir Shumeyko's statement. During a personal conversation with your correspondent Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Anatoliy Vengerov, the court's chairman, remarked that since the president's edicts linked the referendum on the constitution and the elections to as yet nonexistent organs of future Russian state power, the fundamental positions espoused by blocs and individual candidates on the draft constitution simply cannot be kept quiet during the election debates. He thus to all intents and purposes refuted not only Shumeyko's statement, but also the less peremptory statements made on this matter by CEC Chairman Nikolay Ryabov.

Nine members of the IAC, whose objectivity may be called in question a priori by virtue of their being appointed by presidential edict, have so far given no grounds for them to be accused of progovernment bias. On specific cases they have defended the rights of access to airtime of both "democratic" and "communist" candidate deputies.

To return to the statement made by referendum commission chairman Vladimir Shumeyko which caused such a sensation, I must point out that this experienced politician hardly blurted out the first thing that came into his head in his official letter to the CEC. However, if the statement was well thought-out and had at some point been discussed with someone, the absurdity of his avowed position was bound to be quite obvious to Shumeyko himself. In our opinion, this was more likely a precise move in the election campaign to undermine confidence in his rivals in the eyes of the electorate, a deftly executed "foul," which it was extremely hard for the referee on the field to seize upno despite its being obvious to him. So the player in this case gets off with a verbal warning and is not sent off.

Constitution Seen To Reflect New Political Realities

LD0212182593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1641 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS Correspondent Gennadiy Yezhov]

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—The draft of a new constitution conforms to the present political situation in Russia, its adoption by a people's vote will set up a framework for stability throughout the society. This was the conclusion made by participants in a round table on the draft constitution held at the parliamentary centre today. The discussion was attended by lawyers, representatives of election blocs and journalists.

The professional lawyers participating in the round table stimulated all possible outcomes of the constitutional vote. In case the proposed referendum fails to take place or Russians vote against the presidential draft, it should be regarded as rejected, they believe.

However, this does not mean that the society will find itself in a "law vacuum." We will have a legally-elected parliament, and the president will retain the possibility to run the country by means of decrees. Even in a most hypothetical case when neither the parliamentary elections nor the constitutional referendum take place, the country will not be left without laws, the lawyers note. In this event, the president as initiator of the process will exercise "provisional legal powers" pending consensus with representatives of russia's political forces.

In a great degree, the upcoming constitutional referendum will amount to a vote of support for President Yeltsin, first of all because the draft constitution does not provide for early presidential elections. On the whole, a high turnout in the December 12 poll would prevent the opposition from winning over to its side the potential votes of those staying away from the polls, which was the situation after the April 26 referendum. The participants in the discussion described this possibility as a "purely Russian" problem. In other countries such people are not taken into political account, since they are considered to have proved their alienation by failing to come to the polls.

Political Allies Seen as Elbowing Gaydar

MK0212114093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 4

[Unattributed report under the "Behind-the-Scenes" rubric: "Gaydar Is Not on His Team?"]

[Text] In the past few weeks inferences regarding the increasing restraint (chilliness and alienation are other terms mentioned) in relations between Yegor Gaydar and the president look more and more justified.

The Saturday before last Gaydar was not granted an audience by the president. If various sources can be trusted, the "Russia's Choice" leader spent the whole weekend waiting fruitlessly. The very fact that an incident fairly unpleasant for the deputy prime minister "leaked out" gives ground for certain speculation. It seems to have been important for someone to demonstrate that as he tries to pose as the president of all Russians, Yeltsin is ready to distance himself somewhat from those who were formerly his clear favorites. During the meeting with leaders of the electoral blocs that continue the election race, Boris Nikolayevich expressed his wish to receive them individually, one by one, so as to give each chief his due.

But this is only the outward side to our political privacy. In reality, Gaydar has found himself in a fairly difficult situation for a number of reasons. On one hand, he is restrained by the conventions of the electoral struggle that are hard to reconcile with promises of more hardships to come. On the other, his image of an intransigent monetarist is becoming a liability even for his closest allies. At that same meeting, Gaydar ventured to criticize the president, who, true to himself, promised to repay "debts to the agricultural sector" by year's end. Who if not Gaydar remembers only too well what burden was placed on the budget by pledges lavishly made on the eve of the [April 1993] referendum?

As a matter of fact, Yegor Timurovich is effectively the last member of the cabinet who has never chanced to support in public the government program which appealed even to Yeltsin. Moreover, in the past few days ministers who are a priori considered members of the Gaydar team started complaining—either for reasons of electoral expedience or under the burden of other considerations—about too harsh a treatment accorded to industrial enterprises. In other words, pressure of the kind Gaydar was subjected to during his prime ministership begins to be exerted on him as if from within. There is nothing to be done about this—everyone wants to appear a friend of the people on the eve of elections.

There is another fairly sensitive issue, regarding which more and more electoral blocs rush to speak their minds in advance. The issue is who will be prime minister. Naturally, there is hardly any point in selling the bear's skin so early before the bear is caught; in all likelihood the choice will be between Yegor Gaydar and Viktor Chernomyrdin. The president is unlikely to be able to speak for a third one. But there you go again, one after another, as if in chorus, Shakhray, Yavlinskiy, Volskiy, and even Gavriil Popov made it clear that they would have nothing against retaining Viktor Chernomyrdin as prime minister. There is the impression that everyone wanted to hear an opinion on the subject from Gaydar himself, who feels somewhat uncomfortable in the government upon returning to the cabinet in September. As a matter of fact, largely thanks to the liberals' efforts. Including those of Boris Fedorov.

Soskovets Speaks on Economic Policy Plans

LD0212232693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1522 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Interview with Oleg Nikolayevich Soskovets, first deputy head of the Russian Government, by Moscow Radio observer Valeriy Kiosa; place and date not given]

[Text] [Announcer] We have already reported that a program for developing the country's raw resources was discussed today at a scheduled sitting of the presidium of the Russian Government. This is a very important issue because it depends to a great extent on the geologists whether our country is going to be well-supplied with oil, gas, and other mineral resources. Oleg [Nikolayevich] Soskovets, first deputy head of the Russian Government, commented on the results of the meeting in a talk with our observer Valeriy Kiosa.

[Begin recording] [Soskovets] The presidium discussed this issue in order to work out some principles of financing that will be viable in a market economy. Regrettably, old approaches were used to draw up the proposed program. It was based on financing from [state] budget sources, because this used to be the traditional method of financing geological prospecting. In addition, it is simply impossible today that industry should ignore the development of those deposits.

We have now prepared some schemes for the fuel and energy complex and, more specifically, for the oil-workers; these industries have been partly put in charge of the facilities for geological prospecting work, and the whole system—from prospecting to extracting and to refinancing—is now beginning to function.

Thus, all possible patterns of cooperation for the development of this branch were discussed. This matter does indeed require the state's attention. It is natural that the demands and tasks the state places on geologists should be financed from the budget. In other respects, however, their services should be linked to the exploitation of the deposits and financed by the profits received from this, as happens elsewhere in the civilized world where the economy is based on market relations. This will enable further work to be financed by incoming profits.

[Kiosa] Oleg Nikolayevich, I would like to discuss once again your trip to Valday. The newspapers reported today that the main purpose of the group's visit there was to persuade the prime minister [Viktor Chernomyrdin] to implement a hardline policy and that this aim was achieved, at the risk, however, of splitting the government. What comment can you offer on this?

[Soskovets] As usual, these are correspondents' fantasies. None of the members of the presidium present there made any statements to this effect. We went there in order to make a final report to the prime minister on the formation of the budget for the fourth quarter of the year. Our concern was prompted primarily by our debt to state-financed organizations. We, the heads of the government, must not evade the problem of non-payment. It was this problem which caused the recent acute political episodes involving miners. We are continuing to carry out our functions and are dealing with all this.

As for the objections raised by [Aleksandr] Shokhin and [Boris] Fedorov—let them object. When the document is approved by the prime minister, all the t's will be crossed and all the i's dotted. [end recording]

Deputy Foreign Minister on Election, New Assembly

PM0212132993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov by Vyacheslav Yelagin; place and date not given: "The Elections and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] [Yelagin] Sergey Borisovich, our readers have no clear idea of whether the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is participating in the preparation of the Federal Assembly elections and the referendum on the draft Russian Federation Constitution. What can you say in this connection?

[Krylov] It is participating, and participating actively. We are working in the closest contact with the Central Electoral Commission. And how could it be otherwise, seeing that we are faced with the task of organizing voting among Russian citizens abroad. Around 100,000 Russians will come to polling places at Russian Federation embassies and consular establishments in 135 countries of the world.

Colossal work lies behind this: People need to be informed of the time and place of the vote and must be provided

with all the necessary materials, and then guaranteed timely information about the results in the Central Electoral Commission. Moreover, our trading, fishing, and tourist ships, and so forth, may find themselves in foreign ports.

There is also much to be done inside the country, in particular to support the activity of foreign journalists and international observers. Our country's prestige in the eyes of world opinion will in many ways depend on the conclusions of observers.

In view of the seriousness and scale of the problem, these questions were subject of discussion at two sessions of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs collegium in October and November.

At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs collegiums it was noted that the forthcoming referendum fully corresponds to the principle of people's power, under which Russia's multinational people is the repository of sovereignty and the sole source of state power in Russia. The constitutional enshrinment of generally recognized human rights and freedoms and the norms of international law will facilitate the implementation of a purposeful state foreign policy course.

[Yelagin] How is the future Russian parliament seen on Smolensk Square? And how do you envisage the ministry's relations with the new legislative organ of power? After all, in the past they were far from serene, as is well known.

[Krylov] We hope that as a result of the first free elections with open competition between political parties and movements, a truly democratic parliament will be formed in Russia, capable of stabilizing social and political life and guaranteeing the irreversibility of the reforms that are under way.

The main task for parliament is to translate the principle of the separation of powers into practice and to finally dismantle the remnants of totalitarianism. Only in this way will Russia secure itself a place among the civilized democratic states.

At the same time I would like to stress that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the central foreign political department, was and remains within the executive structure of power. Leadership over foreign policy will continue to be exercised by the president and the government. But the future Federal Assembly will naturally be included in foreign political activity. In conditions of the separation of powers, when the head of state represents the country in international relations and carries out foreign economic policy directly or through the government, parliament can substantially influence the formation and realization of foreign policy through the adoption of laws and the ratification of the most important treaties, and by monitoring their fulfillment. All this will enable a comprehensive approach to the development of our foreign relations, including the military, economic, technological, humanitarian, and ecological aspects. A reliable mechanism such as parliamentary monitoring of everyone who participates in foreign contacts is especially necessary.

As a collective of professionals, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is interested in highly skilled specialists who have also come into contact with international problems to some extent or other being elected deputies. In that event it would be easier to find points of contact when defending state interests.

I should say that analysis of the party lists of candidate deputies shows that they include few people who are professionally involved in foreign policy. Moreover, I do not, of course, have in mind the fact that there are few professional diplomats. That is natural. But there are also few political scientists or specialists, say, in history or world economics.

The reasons for this are on the whole understandable. Attention is primarily concentrated on internal problems and those who concern themselves with these problems have greater chances of getting elected. All the same, it is a pity that little attention is devoted to foreign policy activity in the programs of parties and blocs. After all, it is closely connected with internal affairs.

As for the future parliament, we would like to see it free from political opportunism; otherwise decisions will be adopted at odds with internal legislation and the norms of international law and the country's foreign policy commitments. Otherwise damage to the country's prestige in the world and its relations with foreign partners is inevitable. A convincing example of this is the fate of the START II Treaty, which became hostage to internal confrontation because of the stance of the former Supreme Soviet.

I suggest that the future parliament will not be "monochrome." And this is for the best. We need a motley range of opinions and a constructive parliamentary opposition. It is in the course of agreeing different approaches and viewpoints that a stable and predictable foreign policy is formed. But irrespective of parliamentary pluralism, this policy should reflect Russia's fundamental national interests.

[Yelagin] Where, in your view, could the main foreign policy priorities in the activity of the future Russian parliament lie?

[Krylov] The number one priority sphere today is undoubtedly the Commonwealth of Independent States. Persistent and painstaking work in the interests of the socioeconomic, scientific, technical, and cultural renewal of each of the CIS members and of their political, economic, and defense union, is needed here like nowhere else. In this context it is extremely important to secure the support of the future deputies of the Federal Assembly.

Russian parliamentarians will have to elaborate the legislative base for Russia's peacekeeping activity in the "hot spots" along the perimeter of our borders. This is practically virgin territory. Surely it is possible to engage in constructive activity in the circle of conflicts threatening to spread to our own house?

Around 30 million of our compatriots live in the former Soviet Union republics. The relevant normative acts to defend their rights and interests must be adopted urgently.

In addition, we cannot calmly contemplate the violation of universal human rights or the rights of national minorities. And here it is difficult to overestimate the role of the Federal Assembly.

In recent years Russian diplomacy has been working energetically for the abolition of discriminatory relations in trade. It is a question of Russia's full inclusion as an equal partner in the world economic system. But this task goes beyond the bounds of diplomacy alone. In order to accomplish it, we need clear legislative norms designed to ensure the most suitable conditions, from the point of view of Russia's economic interests, for private foreign investments and the extension of the foreign economic activity of Russian organizations and enterprises.

Many federation components are actively entering the outside world. Wide opportunities for direct trade, production sharing, and the development of cultural and scientific cooperation with foreign partners are opening up for them. As the experience of other countries shows, parliament can offer them every feasible help in this within the framework of statewide policy.

There are also other spheres where the need for parliament's lawmaking function is keenly felt. Incidentally, more than 60 international treaties await ratification.

For its part the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs is ready for constructive collaboration with the Federal Assembly and to implement a foreign policy which strengthens Russia's status as a great state.

Arbatov Attack on IMF 'Shock Therapy' Rebutted

PM0212152193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 1

[Feature comprising article by Academician Georgiy Arbatov and response by government adviser Sergey Vasilyev under the "Here's a New Twist" rubric: "Abyss? Or Springboard? Academician Georgiy Arbatov and Government Adviser Sergey Vasilyev Debate the Issue on Eve of Election. Like Millions of Russians..."]

[Text] [Arbatov] The armed attack by the "brownshirt Reds"—an action which could have triggered a terrible civil war—was not least a result of the economic policy pursued by the authorities. Without "shock therapy" and its inevitable consequences the tragedy would most probably not have happened. A very large share of the blame is borne by those who, with the help of "shock therapy," had for two years been breaking the legs, arms, and perhaps even the back of the already shaky economy, leaving a huge slice of the population on, if not below, the poverty line.

I say this merely because, unless we change policy, this putsch will not be the last, and the blood that was shed will not have been the last either. I would like people overseas to realize this too—certain politicians in other countries should recognize their own responsibility for events.

I believe, for instance, that the reason why the Russian president—who, before the start of "reform," did not even personally know the authors of the "shock therapy" concept—found it so easy to adopt without any obvious discussion an extremely risky economic policy that has been tried in many countries and failed in all (after all, in practice it borrows "wholesale" the IMF model that was worked out for underdeveloped countries mainly in order to wring debt repayments out of them at all costs) lies mostly in the fact that it was unanimously supported by the leaders of the main Western countries, the United States, Britain, the G7, and the Western-controlled IMF and World Bank. And he believed these representatives of the most prosperous section of humanity. Russia was not only recommended to take this course but was strongly nudged in that direction. Recently U.S. Senate leaders Robert Dole and George Mitchell stated this frankly, admitting their guilt.

I do not share the views of those who believe that behind this Western line lay a "diabolical" plan to undermine our country's economy and culture forever, to deindustrialize it, and turn it into an underdeveloped state. Although I will not deny that I know the names of many influential Americans who would like this to happen (just as they would now like to have two, three, or four Russias instead of just the one). But I know far more Americans who are sure that a strong, flourishing, and as prosperous a Russia as possible is in the interests of the United States and the West, because it will ensure the stabilization of the world situation. The United States and the West have supported the dangerous reform plans more out of a purely ideological sympathy for those advancing the slogan of the "extensive building of capitalism."

Over the past two years any reliable statistics on economic and social issues have become fewer and further between than before. That is why it is very hard to calculate the detailed results of this "reform." The only things that are obvious are that prices have increased 500-1,000 times over, production has fallen 40-50 percent, and—saddest of all—mortality has increased and the birth rate has fallen. The country has already suffered not just huge material losses, but tangible human losses as well. By my calculations the "reform" produced by the authors of "shock therapy" has already cost us more—not only materially but in human casualties—than the war in Afghanistan.

There is an expression in the West—"IMF riots." That is, riots provoked by the IMF's policy and its "shock therapy." According to estimates from American economist Susan George, there have been more than two dozen of them, with a death toll of around 4,000, another 8-10,000 injured, and many thousands arrested.

Many of the authors of "shock therapy" are now once again in key government posts, which gives them a huge opportunity to influence the future development of policy.

Now, admittedly, there will be nobody to lay the blame on and nobody to hide behind. Today the scales are falling from the eyes of people in the West as well. In August 1993 the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development published its annual report which states that "shock therapy" has not worked in East European countries and

especially in the former USSR. The election results in Poland and Lithuania bear this fact out.

I remain optimistic. Because we do have another choice—a decisive review of economic policy and a genuine move toward market reforms including a well thought-out industrial and social policy and every possible encouragement for healthy enterprise....

For the time being, the present so-called "reformist wing" in the government is showing no sign that it is prepared to do this. Its representatives are merely parroting that that government is not holding in reserve any decisions that will be popular with the people (as if there were any such decisions before).

But if this is the case, in their place I would not be running for election. They must have something specific to put to the people. If they stand for absolutely nothing, the president and the new government should turn to different economists both on the theoretical and practical level (both theoretical and practical economists are to be found in our country).

[Vasilyev] In my view, Mr. Arbatov's article is one long list of mistakes. Let me sort it out point by point.

First mistake: The events of October were caused by the failure of the economic reforms policy.

If we look at the dynamic of strikes in Russia, we see a very curious thing: For almost two years now—since the advent of the reforms government—the strike movement in Russia has been virtually dormant. This is because Gaydar liberalized the economy: Responsibility for prices and wages has been taken away from the government. Pay attention: The events of 3-4 October occurred only in Moscow, within a very restricted section of the population. The country as a whole, however, was quiet.

Second mistake: Russia has been subjected to shock therapy.

What is this shock therapy? A drastic reduction in preferential loans and a deficit-free budget. But this has simply not happened in our country. Ever. The economic policy of the last two years has been a policy of endless compromises which the government has been forced to make under pressure from sector lobbies and the Supreme Soviet.

Yet another mistake: That there is some alternative to Gaydar's policy.

"Civic Union" disseminated propaganda about just such an alternative program last year. And this program was successfully implemented. In Ukraine. As we know, the whole thing has ended in complete failure. Nonetheless, our so-called centrists are continually reproaching us: We are giving too little money to social protection! We agree that not much is being allocated. But please, where are we going to get more money from? For some reason nobody wants to talk about this.

Neither is Gaydar a monetarist.

The scientific movement which he established and to which we all adhere—that is to say all the people in his team—should rather be termed the intellectual-social movement. Which is to say that this school focuses its attention not so much on financial policy, but on how society is organized, how it functions, and what institutions should be set up to ensure that it develops normally. It is quite another matter that the reformers are pursuing a restrictive credit and monetary policy. They are doing this for the simple reason that it is impossible to pursue any other policy without destroying the economy.

Now to the West's attitude to our reforms.

The West has indeed been critical. But primarily because of the unsystematic way in which we have moved toward the reforms. Moreover, we are not just being berated for this by representatives of the Harvard school in the service of the IMF; we are also getting it in the neck from the California and Chicago schools. Let me stress once again that they are not berating us because we have insufficient regulation, but because we are regulating too much. It is certainly possible to find economists in the West who are also keen advocates of a planned economy. But how influential are they? I doubt whether the name Susan George means anything to leading economic scientists.

Here is another example of Mr. Arbatov's "entertaining logic": Because developing countries have signed agreements with the IMF, all "riots" that occur in these countries are caused by the IMF's defective policy. But on the same basis these same "riots" could be attributed to the activities of the United Nations or UNESCO. After all, developing countries cooperate with these organizations as well.... There are a number of different possibilities. Why, for example, does Mr. Arbatov not depict the October events in Russia as a "general protest against the IMF's policy?"

And now to the view that the IMF and World Bank have "frog-marched" Russia along the path of reforms.

IMF experts had not the slightest connection with the reforms program drawn up by the Gaydar team. For the simple reason that the IMF at all times and in all places works exclusively with governments. In 1991, when the Russian reforms were being prepared by an obscure figure called Gaydar, the fund was working with Gorbachev and his advisers.

No less absurd, in my view, is the argument that the Communists have come to power in Poland because the reforms have been unsuccessful.

Nothing of the sort! This happened precisely because the Polish reforms were such a runaway success. People were convinced that even the advent of the Communists to power would not be enough to turn the country back again. The Communists themselves, moreover, have no such plans, they have completely reaffirmed their commitment to the economic course that was being pursued before.

And so to the last argument, that the IMF is pursuing a policy designed to "wring" unpaid debts out of debtor countries.

I will not attempt to dispute this point. It is perfectly true. But I simply cannot see what is wrong with this. Let us suppose that an acquaintance has borrowed 10,000 rubles from you. Without paying you back, he asks for more. It is natural that in such a situation you should want to hedge any subsequent assistance around with additional conditions in order to guarantee the return of your money. And we have Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to thank for the fact that Russia now has to heed the IMF's opinion; it was he who drove the country into the debt pit by increasing our debts from $20 billion to $80 billion.

Commission Rejects Shumeyko's Appeal for Ban

LD0212163093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1148 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has turned down the appeal of First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, who chairs the government commission for the national referendum on the draft constitution. On Monday, Shumeyko urged the Central Electoral Commission to bar the Communist Party led by Gennadiy Zyuganov and the Democratic Party of Russia led by Nikolay Travkin from the election campaign for their criticism of the draft constitution. For the same reason Shumeyko insisted on sanctions against the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin election bloc, the Civic Union, the Agrarian Party and the association "Russia's Future-New Names."

On Thursday, the Central Electoral Commission stated that the president-approved provision on the national referendum on the draft constitution provided for the Russian citizens' and public organizations' right to campaign for or against the draft constitution.

Central Electoral Commission Said Short of Funds

LD0212210093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1132 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 2 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The Central Electoral Commission is concerned that not one kopeck has yet been paid into its payments account out of the 82.7 billion rubles [R] allocated to it by decree of President Boris Yeltsin to finance expenditure on holding the nationwide referendum on the draft Russian Constitution. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed of this today by Commission member Revomir Garmayev. [passage omitted]

The Central Electoral Commission received three payments, on 1, 15, and 29-30 November, totalling R170 billion. It has to make do with this amount for now, Revomir Garmayev noted. He stressed that "here we have a case where the Finance Ministry is not fulfilling a decree from the president."

Russia's Choice Denies Using U.S. Funds in Campaign

MK0212133093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 14

["Russian Security Ministry and Russia's Choice Reject Charges"]

[Text] In the course of the election campaign, politicians are increasingly resorting to scandalous charges. This time around it is Arkadiy Volskiy and Aleksandr Vladislavlev, leaders of the Civic Union bloc, who have come up with sensational exposes. Mr. Volskiy charged the Russian special services with collecting damning evidence about some candidates for the Federal Assembly, while his comrade, Mr. Vladislavlev, called for "looking into the question of the use by Russia's Choice of money from foreign sponsors.

Arkadiy Volskiy stated at a 30 November press conference in St. Petersburg that Russia's special services had begun collecting incriminating material after the government split into three parts, and mutual criticism among the democrats reached its apex. He also advised that Civic Union had drafted a statement in defense of the candidates for the Federal Assembly against whom the special services are working, and promised to divulge these candidates' names.

The other Civic Union leader, Aleksandr Vladislavlev, raised the question of the need to establish whether Russia's Choice had used funds from foreign sponsors for promotion purposes. Speaking on behalf of his bloc at the press conference devoted to the pre- election situation in the country, Mr. Vladislavlev quoted extracts from THE WASHINGTON TIMES to the effect that at least part of a television program promoting Russia's Choice was paid with funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development. As is known, the Election Regulations prohibit the use of funds from foreign sponsors.

These charges were rejected by Sergey Yushenkov, a Russia's Choice leader. Talking with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent he said that Mr. Vladislavlev's statement was based on a TV ad promoting one of the checking accounts that used the Russia's Choice word combination which had nothing to do with the bloc. Mr. Yushenkov expressed regret that Civic Union should employ similar methods in the course of the election campaign.

Commenting on the statement by the Civic Union leaders, Aleksey Kondaurov, chief of the Security Ministry public relations center, declared that the ministry was not collecting incriminating evidence on any political parties. According to Mr. Kondaurov, an investigation into the alleged use of funds from foreign sponsors for electoral canvassing could be carried out on condition the ministry has been tasked to do so. The Russian Ministry of Security, however, has no such instructions at the moment.

Zhirinovskiy To Sue Gaydar Over Hitler Comparison

LD0212165093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], today submitted a statement to the Information Arbitration Tribunal, lodging a claim against First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar in connection with the latter's speech at the House of Cinema Workers on 30 November. According to the LDPR's press service, Zhirinovskiy considers Gaydar's comparing him to Hitler in his speech offensive. The press service reported that Zhirinovskiy's lawyer will go to court and demand that Gaydar pay 100 million rubles as compensation for the damage he inflicted.

Outlines Election Program

PM0312103393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia: "The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Means Order, Reliability, and Success for All"]

[Text] The first LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] congress was held 31 March 1990 in Moscow. The fifth congress will be held in the spring of 1994. The LDPR has 90 primary organizations. The party's total numerical strength, including the CIS, is about 100,000.

The LDPR is a right-centrist moderately conservative party standing on a patriotic platform. The main principle of the LDPR's activity is the observance of legality in all spheres. The LDPR advocates a presidential regime. This idea of ours was announced back in May 1987, when the party's first program was published. The LDPR is or a multiparty democracy and a mixed economy.

How does our party differ from the others?

In the field of state building. We are against the restoration of the USSR and against the existence of the CIS. We are in favor of a Russian state developing and strengthening with natural historical borders. Our position is that we must return to division into guberniyas. Russia must consist of 40-50 self-managing guberniyas with a large number of rights and a population of 3-5 million in each guberniya. The formation of republics, autonomous regions, and oblasts along national lines is ruled out. Our slogan is: "Russia is the Fatherland for all citizens without any discrimination whatsoever with respect to their nationality." We must have a federation of territories, not national formations. Only in that we is it possible to rule out conflicts, because national regions inside Russia will always cause tension.

The economy. Here we advocate the mixed principle: We must not artificially break up the state sector and force on the private sector. Let everything develop naturally. For that we must create equal conditions for the state sector and the private sector. In the countryside let collective forms of management (collective and state farms, subsidiary enterprises, agricultural firms) and private forms in the shape of private farms, peasant farms, and smallholdings exist. The state sector in industry should remain in the volume required by the economy. All large plants must be in state hands. In industry the private sector should primarily extend to small workshops, small factories and plants mainly producing consumer goods. Conversion in the military-industrial complex is harmful and should be stopped. Let existing military plants continue to produce military output. That is advantageous since the export of military output will produce a substantial revenue which can be used to improve life, particularly that of the poor strata.

The tax system should be directed in favor of producers. Here, of course, it is desirable to reduce the tax rate to 40-30 percent.

Social protection of the population. Unfortunately, the older generation has found itself in a very difficult position. The normalization of the economy could serve to increase funds channeled into indexing pensions and grants and opening stores where the poor could use coupons to acquire a minimum of essential foods and goods. Children are also in need of special attention and here it is also essential to step up aid in all directions.

About investments in savings banks. Tens of millions of our citizens have suffered, so we suggest restoring the investments of all our investors in savings banks, but these should be noncash sums, to avoid the intensification of inflation. Payment for various services should be in a specific proportion, for instance once every three years each investor should have the right to use 20 percent of his investment to acquire real estate and in the subsequent three years every investor would have the right to use 20 percent to acquire very expensive goods—motor vehicles, furniture, and so forth. We must proceed from the premise that many investors would not use this money at all and these sums would pass to their heirs. The crediting of interest would also be extended to noncash investments.

Foreign policy. We are opposed to rendering any aid in any region outside Russia. That would enable us to save 30 percent of our material resources and channel them into improving the lives of Russia's citizens. We are in favor of the intensified exports of arms abroad. We are in favor of taking no part in the blockading of countries which are in our debt, for instance Libya or Iraq, or of those countries which are close to us in spirit, for instance our orthodox brothers in the Balkans. Our foreign policy must be entirely independent. We must be neutral if that accords with Russia's interests. We must focus efforts on the Southern salient—Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, the Caucasus, Central Asia. In the East it is desirable for us to restore relations with Iraq and Syria and with the Arab world. In the West we must restore economic and cultural relations with East Europe. In the long term we could try to create a union of Slav states.

We must maintain ordinary relations with America, remembering that this is our main rival and is not interested in Russia's prosperity and might.

We must pay proper attention to the development of space and individual types of weapons in order to ensure the fulfillment of Russia's foreign policy tasks.

Naturally, we do not remove from the agenda the slogan of the defense of Russians throughout the territory of Russia and the former USSR and that brings us close to our country's truly patriotic forces. We took up these positions at the first party congress. Naturally, we proceed from a realistic premier, we are not by any means saying that we will restore Russia's borders by force. On the contrary we would like to be in no hurry to include a number of territories in Russia, even as guberniyas.

I should like to appeal to our voters and express the hope that they will make the correct choice 12 December.

Democratic Party To Restore World Influence

LD0212173293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0830 GMT on 2 December broadcasts a 30-minute election program in which Dr. Sergey Yuryevich Glazyev, one of the authors of the Democratic Party of Russia's economic program, outlined the party's economic program. Glazyev spoke for 16 minutes.

Glazyev begins by saying that he is following up an address he made "a few days ago" to answer voters' questions.

Glazyev then reiterates the basic principles of the Democratic Party's economic policy as being to overcome the economic decline, making Russia competitive, having a clear industrial and scientific policy, creating strong enterprises through effective privatization, and passing detailed legislation on competition. The top social policy priority is tackling poverty and deteriorating services, particularly for children and the elderly.

He says that inflation—not just hyperinflation—could be overcome and that the Democratic Party has specific measures in mind to stem the flow of capital out of the country, as well as active measures to encourage investment in industry, and plans to bring in currency controls. Companies will be encouraged to export. Glazyev says that no serious political group thinks that the economic crisis can be overcome in the immediate future, but the Democratic Party has specific measures that could stop the slump in output in all industries with potential for growth: "Our whole program is looking not toward two or three or six months, but to the medium-to long- term. Unlike the usual practice of holding political election debates in which we say vote for us and we promise you this and that, the Democratic Party of Russia proceeds on the basis that we will implement our program for surmounting the economic crisis under any conditions and in any political circumstances."

Glazyev goes on to talk about the link between foreign policy and domestic economic difficulties, and says: "As an expert in the field, I can say that in normal conditions—when it is pursued in a normal way—foreign policy is a very important factor in economic growth and is not that costly. That is to say, if we look at how much an effective foreign policy costs and how much it can bring in, one can come to the conclusion that it is perhaps one of the most important levers in the modern world for securing the economic interests of one country or another in foreign markets, and one of the most important levers for securing economic growth.

"Unfortunately, the foreign policy that has been pursued of late has instead of a factor for economic growth become, on the contrary, a factor for economic losses. We have lost our traditional markets in Eastern Europe, we have lost markets in the Near East, and are losing arms markets. We are losing our presence and prestige in the developing world and all this is costing us most dear. We have spent decades building up the geopolitical potential that will allow us to be a great industrial power and today we are, unfortunately, losing this because our foreign policy and national interests have diverged.

"We are, therefore, giving this issue very great attention in our program and have worked through in some detail an outline foreign policy that looks, first and foremost, toward restoring our political and economic influence in the world. We are prioritizing accordingly. Today it is extremely important to us that no further weakening of Russia's position is allowed to occur on the huge territory of the former USSR, and here we are moving along the road of creating conditions for close economic integration and securing the interests of Russian enterprises in the markets of the near abroad [former USSR republics].

"We are paying great attention to the restoration of our traditional economic ties and, again, political influence is an essential condition for that in Europe, first and foremost, in Eastern and Southern Europe, and are paying great attention to the restoration of our weight and political influence on the countries in the developing world, in the Asia-Pacific region, and in the Near East.

"So, you can see in our foreign policy program a list of specific and well thought through measures aiming to restore Russia's position as a leading political and industrial power which is perfectly capable of defending and protecting its interests, which in the new conditions means defending the interests of its industry, defending the foreign markets we have, and securing our economic growth, while protecting our citizens and firms by providing them with favorable conditions to operate on the world market."

Civic Union's Rumyantsev: All Not Yet Lost in Russia

LD0212190893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0830 GMT on 2 December 1993 broadcasts an 8-minute interview, in the "Election Program," with Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev, who is standing for the State Duma for the Civic Union for stability, justice, and progress. He says that he joined this bloc because its values are those of everyone—stability, justice, and development. He explains that although the party includes mainly industrialists and entrepreneurs, there are also trade unionists. Rumyantsev says he sees himself as a social democrat,

keen on social partnership in a society without class struggle or class warfare. He thinks the Civic Union could become "a labor party, a social alternative to the current experiment on the people."

Rumyantsev warns of the danger that, with hidden unemployment today of around 7 million people and an official register of just 700,000 unemployed, the future could bring an explosion of real unemployment, which could bring mass poverty to Russia. He saw his purpose as being to defend the interests of working people and national revival in the Duma and to revive the movement toward a just constitutional system.

Emphasizing the importance of democracy in parliament, Rumyantsev says that in the past, many democrats had found it easier to stay out of parliament, where they felt themselves in the minority: "I stayed in that parliament to the last, because I am deeply convinced that the principle of sovereignty of the people is the main principle that we are obliged to put into practice in real life, to find constructive positions, no matter how difficult, and at the same time defending one's own vision of the law, of legislative material. There lies the principle and stability of parliamentarism. We have an obligation to develop this Russian parliamentarism further and that will be my main work in constructive parliamentary opposition in the State Duma."

To close the interview, Rumyantsev is asked: "How can we make it that the Russian Parliament is not always a counterweight to the president and his actions?" He replies: "First and foremost, the president has to understand that he is the top official, subordinate to the Constitution and the law. When the president wishes, because he himself and the circles that support him so desire, to put himself above the Constitution, above the law, that is a tragedy. When the parliament wants to put itself above the Constitution and the law and put the Constitution under it, that is also a tragedy. Because of our undeveloped legal culture and disdain for the law, the written law, written legislation, we in Russia came to the tragedy, which took place at the end of September, start of October. I am profoundly convinced that the people's representatives, parliament, are always a brake on executive power. Why a brake? Because we control expenditure from the state treasury. We control staff appointments. That is what the people elects us for. When it is proposed in the new constitution that parliament be stripped of both control over expenditure from the state treasury and control over staff appointments, that means one thing: An administrative system and the utter tyranny of the bureaucrat are being restored in the country. Unfortunately, the Russian president is pandering to these negative processes.

"I believe that the main point is not solely being a counterweight to the president, but exercising restraint and being a sensible counterweight to the potential infringements that can be committed from time to time by the executive and, most importantly, drawing up just and wise laws that will be implemented in real life, implemented by the executive itself that over the past year has, instead of implementing the law, been engaging in politicking. I do not think that all is yet lost in Russia. I personally look to the future with optimism."

Federal Assembly Election Program Introduces Three Parties

LD0212212293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 2 December 1993 broadcasts the 60-minute "Federal Assembly" program, today given over to the Russian Party of Unity and Accord, the Agrarian Party, and the "Women of Russia" Association. Russian TV announcer Mariya Ivashova introduces the program.

The first 20 minutes are given to the Party of Russian Unity and Accord's own video on the personal profile of its candidate Konstatin Zatulin, chairman of the Entrepreneurs for New Russia Association.

The video begins with archive shots of the October riots with voice-over on the idea of "the third force," the centrist orientation that the "Entrepreneurs for New Russia" political association is representing.

Zatulin is then shown in a variety of locations—being interviewed on his political views and his party's program, visiting a Cossack village, a church service, and talking at meetings and news conferences. He begins by saying that contrary to the popular belief that politics is a dirty business, he is convinced that politics should be made with clean hands and he has entered politics to prove this point. Zatulin says that charity should be an important part of every large enterprise's activities—his organization, for example, supports arts, education, refugees, and historic heritage. He is against the administrative fragmentation of the Russian state and "the parade of sovereignties." Referring to Gaydar's promises to curb inflation, he says that financial and economic policy should be based on realistic expectations, not on wishful thinking.

The next 20 minutes are given to the "Agrarian Party of Russia." In the studio are its representatives Mikhail Lapshin, Shamsiyat Muradova, and Yuriy Gromov.

Lapshin begins by saying that his party will concentrate its efforts on helping the agricultural sector. He talks in general terms about the problems in agriculture and the need to remedy them.

Muradova introduces herself, saying that she was born in Baku and is a Lezgin by nationality. She has lived in Moscow since 1978 and represents the Warsaw district of Moscow. She speaks about laws on private property and land ownership affecting the hunting and fishing rights of individuals. Lapshin adds that the state should control the land and agricultural land should be leased to farmers and entrepreneurs, and not sold.

Gromov, an engineer, introduces himself and says that his party will not just look after the interests of agricultural workers and farmers, but workers in the food processing and forestry industry, private allotment holders, and individual hunters and fishermen, for whom these activities are sometimes the only way to adequately feed their

families. Agricultural workers cannot afford to use strikes as a political weapon, due to the nature of their work, so they should have a political organization to defend their interests. He says that the party intends to stick to its promises and defend not only its own political interests but also the interests of its electorate. "We are the party without political ambitions, without extremism, but we are the party of action."

Muradova says that one of the most important concerns of the Agrarian Party is the territorial integrity of Russia, the avoidance of ethnic and national conflicts. Asked what concrete measures they propose, she says that the question is too big and too complex to discuss in the time available.

Lapshin says his party believes that only the real professionals should be involved in managing the economy, and that agriculture needs to be restored as a backbone of the national economy.

"The Women of Russia" association is given the floor next. In the studio are its chairwoman Alevtina Fedulova and Yekaterina Lakhova, presidential adviser on women, family, and childhood issues.

Fedulova begins by saying that media coverage of the election campaign shows that in general, it does not understand the real reasons why the women's associations are participating in the election campaign, but fortunately, the voters understand their aims and intentions. Their organization is guided by human values. Priority should be given to social policy. The budget should put more emphasis on the social needs of the people—education, culture, social protection. Tax regulations should be enforced so that the large enterprises pay taxes to the state to enable the money to be channelled into the social sphere.

Protection of childhood, tighter laws against crime, equality before the law—for individuals as well as for the state—are some of the problems the organization is hoping to address. Economic policy should be directed toward human values. Lakhova draws attention to the problems of childhood, school education and family. She talks about a baby food factory that cannot sell its products due to the invasion of imported brands, sold at cheaper prices than the home-produced ones. She says the laws should be directed at protecting domestic producers and setting realistic prices for food. Another problem is ante- and post-natal care, shortage of medicines and necessary facilities in the medical establishments. Provision of kindergartens and nursery schools is inadequate. It is important to ensure that in market conditions such facilities do not suffer. Lakhova goes on talking about other problems that the organization has identified and is prepared to tackle. Russia should remain a strong, integral country with all its components and nationalities enjoying equal rights. There should be no place for separatism and nationalism.

Announcer Ivashova rounds up the program by saying that tomorrow the same parties will be given another opportunity to address viewers on Russian Television.

Three More Election Blocs Present Views

LD0212220193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 2 December 1993 broadcasts the 60- minute, regular election slot "Voter's Hour" in which the Russian Movement for Democratic Reform, the electoral bloc Russia's Choice, and the bloc "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" were presented.

The program starts with the familiar election advertisement of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reform. This is followed by a recorded interview with Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev who warns against extreme nationalism and its use for party political purposes. Yakovlev says political separatism inevitably leads to Fascism while economic separatism leads to a dead end. He says a happy future for Russia could be built on the basis of ethnic identity combined with national rapprochement and on respect for family values and law. He says he is concerned about disagreements within the democratic wing, but did not specify. The interviewer was the popular entertainer Oleg Gazmanov, an active member of the movement; the interview was interspersed with video clips of his performances of upbeat patriotic songs.

The next 20 minutes are devoted to Russia's Choice. A video clip of the bloc's news conference is broadcast, including the following brief statements: Yegor Gaydar says the bloc is prepared for a dialogue with all constructive forces; Boris Zolotukhin says it is vital to introduce trial by jury; Pavel Bunich says the bloc could guarantee economic stability; Sergey Kovalev speaks on the importance of behaving responsibly toward the electorate. Anatoliy Chubays stresses the achievements of privatization; Boris Saltykov promises a consistent policy on science and education; Petr Aven emphasizes the bloc's adherence to legality; Arkadiy Murashev speaks on the structure of the future parliament and relations within it; Sergey Yushenkov stresses the role of morality; Nikolay Vorontsov advocates the supremacy of ecology over economy; Viktor Danilov- Danilyan says there is a need for economic underpinning of ecological policy; Yevgeniy Sidorov promises to promote culture; Mikhail Poltoranin upholds human rights; Yuriy Yarov says the issue of division of power between the center and the regions should be settled as soon as possible; Gennadiy Burbulis says Russia's Choice knows how to ensure freedom and private ownership; Garry Kasparov makes an emotional appeal in support of the bloc; Andrey Makarov says that stability and order are among the bloc's priorities.

This is followed by a clip from an interview with Ella Pamfilova, the social security minister, who says she respects Gaydar because he stated openly what he could or could not give to the people. She says Gaydar's drawback is that he did not explain to the people well enough exactly what he was doing. She says it is vital to bring back the people's trust in the government. The slot of Russia's Choice ends with the song "Russia Has Risen Indeed."

The final 20 minutes feature a recorded conversation between Vladimir Lukin, a leader of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, and Lidiya Grafova, an observer from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Lukin says the bloc's emblem is an apple, partly because the word [yabloko] happens to be an acronym of the three leaders' names, and partly because it symbolizes harmony. He then says that he does not regard politics as a dirty business. The main thing about implementing a reform is to move as fast as reality permits and not as one's own career purposes demand, he stresses. Without naming Zhirinovskiy, he criticizes as impracticable his plan to increase the standard of living through the arms trade. Asked about his bloc's program with regard to the influx of Russian settlers from outside Russia, he says they all should be allowed in if required and that a national program for accommodating them should be drawn up. He stresses, however, that the exodus of Russians might stop if politicians in Russia were more careful about what they were saying on the matter. Having a strong and well trained army would also help, though weapons should not constantly be brandished in front of the countries where Russians' rights are being violated, he concludes.

Election Program Highlights Parties

LD0212232393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 2 December broadcasts the regular 30-minute "A Word to the Voter" election program which features the Russian Unity and Accord Party, the "Russia's Future—New Names" bloc, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

The Party of Russian Unity and Accord is represented by Aleksandr Kotenkov, who says the party is determined to put an end to the corruption among state officials in Russia. According to him, the party's leading members and election candidates have made a public declaration of their income in order to prove that they have no unauthorized earnings. Kotenkov says that in his opinion, the militia should be organized and financed on the municipal level, so that the taxpayers will know who is protecting them and how much they are paying for it. One of the draft laws to be proposed by the party if it gets into the new parliament is a bill on "lyustratsiya"—the screening of officials for unauthorized income and involvement in corruption.

After this, brief election advertisements of the Democratic Party of Russia and of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reform are broadcast.

The bloc "Russia's Future—New Names" was next. Recorded video material shows several of the bloc's 93 candidates at their work places. They discussed from their own local angle some of the priorities of their party, such as developing the oil industry, providing incentives for young people involved in the production sphere, creating better conditions for people living and working in the northern areas of Russia, and coming to grips with social problems in the countryside. This is followed by the bloc's brief election advertisement, and the advertisements of the Movement for Democratic Reform and the Democratic Party of Russia.

Next, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia is presented. Its party political broadcast begins with a song that contained the words "Ah, Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy], what future is awaiting us?" The party's leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, this time chooses the Russian Orthodox believers as his target audience. He says the Russian Orthodox faith will one day reunite the now separated Slavonic nations. He adds that his party will encourage religion, Sunday schools, and other forms of spiritual education, as well as the traditional monastery culture. Preachers from other countries, who are propagating alien religions, will not be welcomed by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, he stresses. He says that Muslim people should go back to their traditional way of life and build mosques instead of schools and hospitals. He appeals to all believers, including Muslims, to vote for his party.

Chubays, Fedorov, Gaydar Discuss Election

LD0312001693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 2 December 1993 carries the "Election Marathon" program, a 30-minute paid election slot, featuring Russia's Choice. It includes pre-recorded interviews with Anatoliy Chubays, Boris Fedorov, and Yegor Gaydar.

Anatoliy Chubays, deputy chairman of the Russian Government and chairman of the State Committee for Management of State Property, answers questions about the privatization program adopted by the government at the beginning of 1992. Chubays says the first stage of the privatization program is over and it has been successful. Touching upon objectives for the immediate future, Chubays says: "We believe 1994 should become the year of the beginning of investment in the Russian economy, but not of investments distributed by Gosplan [state planning committee], approved by ministries and local bosses that then get into the hands of those who manage to rake them in. We mean real investments coming from private sources. We believe investments in the Russian economy are a beginning of the real growth of the Russian economy." Privatization, its aims and goals, were discussed in general terms.

Boris Fedorov, deputy chairman of the Russian Government and finance minister, was asked recently why many categories of workers were either not being paid their wages or were being paid irregularly. Fedorov admits that such a problem does exist: "The explanation is very simple. As long as we live beyond our means such a situation will arise." He continues: "Usually it is not wages that are involved here, since naturally, the government does not pay wages to miners as well as to many other categories. Subsidies that are overdue and are not being paid on time are involved here. Naturally, they include a part of wages. But one cannot say that the government, for example, has not paid someone's wages. It is another matter that subsidies are not being paid on time because

there are not enough funds. We are trying everything possible since it is clear to everyone that the situation is abnormal. Nothing could be worse than a government that is not fulfilling its obligations."

To a question about realistic wages for 1994 in dollar terms, Fedorov says: "This year, there has been real growth from approximately $7-10 a month to $70-80 by the end of this year." He adds: "I have always thought that our people should be paid as much as an average worker or clerk in a developed country so that they could go to the Canary Islands every year, have two cars and houses of their own. This is what one should try to achieve. This is essentially the meaning of economic reform. As far as next year is concerned, it is difficult to forecast—there are estimates that average wages will reach $150 by the end of the year. As for me personally, I think they might reach $200-250 if the reforms would indeed move forward."

He concludes: "We should leave behind this sheer poverty and hopelessness, when there is no future, when our people, who are often more talented than their colleagues in the West, are forced to drag out a miserable existence."

Yegor Gaydar, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, is asked why the voters should cast their votes for Russia's Choice. He replies: "Two years ago we began the reforms in a very difficult situation, the reforms that have already changed the face of Russia, Russian society, and the Russian economy. We bear an enormous burden of responsibility for all hardships we had to go through. At the same time, over the period we have acquired a knowledge of Russian realities the hard way, not a theoretical but a practical understanding of how the market economy should be shaped in Russia."

Asked whether there were realistic alternative economic programs, Gaydar says: "I am deeply convinced that, as far as a policy toward stabilizing the economy and restoring a stable economic growth is concerned, there are no real alternatives. My familiarization with programs of other blocs and associations is convincing me of this yet again."

Women's Organization Candidates State Election Aims

LD0212225393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 2 December broadcasts in its regular "Listen, Think, Choose" feature a 60-minute program on the Women of Russia organization. Moderator Vladimir Kurnikov introduces Alevtina Fedulova, the organization's chairman, Yekaterina Lakhova, presidential adviser on children, women, and family issues, and Yevgeniya Chepurnykh, chairman of the Federation of Children's Organizations, who are in the studio.

Fedulova says she is one of the organization's candidates' list, and introduces the main points of her organization's election platform. She says many foreigners are showing interest in her organization, proving that the Women of Russia organization is being taken seriously.

Lakhova says their organization does not just care for women but also for men, children and the family as an institution. She speaks about social problems affecting the family.

The discussion then turns to questions of state social policy and the need for the social protection of the population, including women and children. The problems of raising children under the present social climate and the problems of the disabled are then discussed at length.

The program concludes with the women answering questions phoned in by listeners.

Insurance Firms Express Support for Shakhray

MK0212101093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 4

[Lyudmila Viktorova report: "Amount of Financial Assistance to Shakhray's Party Is Yet To Be Determined"]

[Text] The presidium of the Insurance Union of Russia issued a statement yesterday calling on insurance companies that are members of the union to support the Party for Russian Unity and Accord [PRES] in the elections for the Federal Assembly. The union's chiefs said they decided to give their backing to the PRES because they were dissatisfied with the policy of the government's radical wing, particularly Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov. According to the union chiefs, the finance minister advocates giving foreign insurance companies access to the Russian market.

According to Aleksey Razuvayev, vice president of the Insurance Union, the decision to support the PRES was prompted to some extent by events that surrounded the draft edict "On Measures To Improve the Insurance System in the Russian Federation," which was submitted to the president. It is well known that the draft edict, which was drawn up by specialists from the Russian Insurance Supervision Committee and the Finance Ministry, was designed to give foreign insurance companies access to the Russian market. Judging from the accompanying memo, the draft was submitted by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov. This is what caused Russian insurers' chilliness toward this political figure.

At the same time, representatives of the government's moderate wing, whose political interests are actually expressed by the PRES, made it clear during meetings with Mr. Razuvayev that they shared the insurers' view on the need to limit the presence of foreign insurance companies in Russia. In addition, the PRES supported the idea of creating an expert council for insurance subordinated to the government. Hence, insurers will get an opportunity to increase their influence on the Russian authorities, while the possibility of adopting any insurance-related documents without the insurance companies' consent will be virtually ruled out.

In all likelihood, in exchange for some promises made by PRES representatives, the Insurance Union decided to call on its members (more than 400 insurance companies) and

all insurance company employees to vote for the PRES party list and candidates. The union also announced its plan to give the party financial assistance, the amount of which, however, is yet to be determined.

Election Outlook in Light of Past Month Viewed

MK0212123093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Yuriy Buyda report in the "Results" column: "Russian November. Oppositionism Is Becoming Trendy. Society Rejects Both Rightism and Leftism in the Hope for Revival of Parliamentarianism and Constitutional Guarantees"]

[Text] In November it became known that the early presidential elections in Russia scheduled for 12 June 1994 will most likely not take place. This was announced by Boris Yeltsin himself, even if with certain qualifications. The critical reaction to this decision has proven amazingly weak. Because the presidential powers expire half a year after the expiration of the new parliament's term of office, it has become clear that by his decision Boris Yeltsin guarantees Russia a consistent political course and blocks a possible strengthening of tough opposition.

Responding to a noticeable change in the mood of society, which is still feeling the effects of the shock after the 3 and 4 October punitive action in Moscow, the Russian president fairly sharply criticized the radicals (presumably from his own entourage) who "are prodding the authorities toward arbitrariness." According to him, "they will never receive support from the president." Given the president's statement on the need to restore the institutions of democracy, his refusal to orient himself toward any particular political force participating in the election struggles, and also the support from Chernomyrdin, whom Yeltsin has already proclaimed prime minister of the post-December government, one can conclude that Boris Yeltsin wants—much stronger than before—to appear "the president of all the Russian people" and the main guarantor of their calm and well-being. Moreover, Yeltsin made it clear to Russian society that he is not inclined to submit to the traditional national affliction and concentrate on past emotions—it is far more important to do at least the minimum of what could be done to advance into the future.

The election campaign for seats in the new Russian parliament, the debate over the draft constitution that goes before the 12 December referendum, and the economic problems, in particular those related to the failure of the idea of a single ruble zone of the former USSR republics, predetermined the scenario of Russian political life in November.

The election struggle has been developing against the backdrop of a sharply aggravated confrontation in society. However, appeals from certain leaders of the intransigent opposition to thwart the elections and the referendum on the draft constitution, as public opinion polls show, are not getting wide public support. Turnout is expected to exceed 60 percent. More than 40 percent of the voters believe that Russia's fate will depend on the results of the elections, and approximately one-third links their hopes for better living standards with a future parliament (and not with the president or the government). The aggregate results of public opinion polls indicate that the most popular are the blocs and parties led by Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, Zyuganov, and Shakhray. Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, and Shakhray represent a broad spectrum—from democratic radicalism to conservative liberalism, and Zyuganov represents the communist mono-idea.

After the Central Election Commission for various reasons barred the obviously opposition parties and blocs—including those of nationalist orientation—from the election struggle, Zyuganov has in fact remained the sole real representative of the intransigent opposition, attracting the votes of those who were ready to vote against Yeltsin. As a result, the communists' popularity rating reached its high point in August 1991, while the rating of democratic leaders has been falling.

The election struggle is being substantially compounded by the fact that the parties' provincial branches often do not follow their Moscow leaders. The voters get the impression that, for instance, the Moscow Civic Union is one party and the provincial Civic Union quite another. At the same time in Moscow, Travkin's Democratic Party has distanced itself from the Democratic Russia Movement, while in Nizhniy Novgorod their alliance is still in force. Moreover, another factor that may come into play here is the old "anti-Moscow factor," urging the provincial voters to give preference to local and not metropolitan leaders. It is not ruled out that this factor will manifest itself in voting on party slates where more than 70 percent of candidates come from Moscow and the Moscow region.

A unique situation has developed in the south of Russia—in Rostov Oblast, Krasnodar Kray, and Stavropol Kray. At present per 100 indigenous residents there are 15 refugees, 20 percent of whom are Armenians. The local population, unhappy over the long-standing influx of Chechen and Dargin resettlers, is all the more set against new refugees from the Caucasus. Politicians—from radical democrats to communists—in their struggle for power are unequivocally against the migrants. In this context the role of the local Cossacks has grown appreciably in the recent period, although a mere 6 to 14 percent of the population may regard themselves as indigenous Cossacks. Many see the Cossacks as the best protection against the Caucasian threat: The Cossacks are organized, well- disciplined, and have the experience of war in the Dniester region, Abkhazia, and Yugoslavia. Against the backdrop of the threat from the Caucasus the Cossack leaders may well lay claim to key posts in local power bodies.

It is already clear that the State Duma and the Federal Assembly will hardly be much better than the former Supreme Soviet. The new parliament will not be more professional: More than half the candidates are civil servants, enterprise managers, and journalists. The parliament will not be more loyal or manageable: All the election associations are conducting their election campaigns under opposition slogans (the only exception is Gaydar's bloc)

and no one, except the communists, is displaying any efforts toward unity or respect for party discipline.

Even so, the majority of politicians and experts believe that the parliament elected on 12 December may become the first truly democratic institution since 1917, allowing the various strata of the population, parties, and movements to maintain their interests in a situation where the law is respected. A feature of the first Russia parliament will apparently be a weighty representation of parties and blocs of an "intermediary" political orientation but without an evident gravitation toward the left, the right, or the center. Possibly, these "intermediary" parties, by concluding deals with large blocs, will be able to make a substantial impact on the parliament's work.

With the lack of political organization in Russian society, however, forecasting the election results involves a high probability of mistakes being made. Experience shows that one-third of the voters will vote by intuition for whoever "strikes their eye." The voters usually make their final decision three to four days before the elections and their decision is heavily conditioned by TV programs, street conversations, and so forth. In November parties and blocs actively used the publication of sociological surveys as a weapon in the struggle against their rivals. According to authoritative experts, sociology is becoming dangerous, being used as an instrument to manipulate public consciousness. Some (for instance, Vsevolod Vilchek) suppose that approximately half the poll results published hold no water.

For the president and his supporters the referendum on the draft new constitution is perhaps even more important than parliamentary elections. If the voters reject the constitution, the suppression of the Supreme Soviet will be called into question and the new parliament will be deprived of legitimacy. To approve the constitution, however, 50 percent of ballots by the registered voters is needed. Otherwise the constitution will be adopted by the Federal Assembly.

Yeltsin's supporters regard the new constitution, if not an absolutely ideal document, then one that will quite suit Russian society during the transition period. One strong point is that the draft contains norms preventing the monopoly position of a single party or ideology, and also has provisions equating the rights of Russian oblasts and national autonomies. The opponents criticize the draft for being oriented toward Yeltsin, for authoritarianism and the norms envisioning a possible destruction of the executive branch and confrontation between the president and the government, and also for asserting the idea of unitarism in the Federative Russia. Pointing to the draft's weaknesses, the opposition calls the new constitution ephemeral. True, radical Yeltsinites (for example, Kronid Lyubarskiy) suppose that in two years the viability of some constitutional norms will need to be analyzed and possibly revised. This option, however, is not provided for either in the constitution itself or in other legislative enactments.

It is not ruled out that the new parliament, whose powers are substantially limited under the draft, will call for changes to be made in the constitution. Corresponding unequivocal statements have already been made by party and bloc leaders, in particular by Shakhray, Yavlinskiy, and Zyuganov.

November saw a noticeable change in the tonality of the mass media, which during September and October unequivocally supported nearly all the actions by the president and the government, including those involving limitation of human rights. Few independent publications that criticized the authorities' actions have been shunned by their colleagues. The rapid de-radicalization of society, however, has prodded the majority of publications toward restraint and even a critique of the authorities. Moreover, oppositionism has gradually come into fashion, though quite often this is just a pose, not a position. State TV companies have started moving toward a more balanced position, which is especially important since TV in Russia supplies society with more than 80 percent of all information about life within the country and outside its boundaries. Nonetheless, it is clear that an overwhelming majority of publications and journalists are not providing information about the process of the election campaign but are themselves taking part in it: Russian journalists and publishers have not as yet appreciated independence from the authorities as a value because government support for publications still remains more substantial than public (private) support.

In November the Labor Ministry published a figure that eloquently characterizes the socioeconomic situation in Russia: the living standards of the most well-to-do people has exceeded those of the poor by 26 times. This gap may be compared to that which emerged in Russia as a result of Stolypin's land reform (it is the accepted thing among Russian intellectuals today to admire it) and led to the October revolution.

Yet government officials, pointing to a fall in the consumer price growth rate, are talking about the "first signs of a shift toward stabilization," a view shared by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin stated that next year latent unemployment will become overt and that the government will have to choose between the planned macroeconomic indicators and pockets of social tension.

Russia's economic and social problems need to be seen in the wide context of relations with countries of the former USSR. This primarily involves the so-called ruble zone. Over the two years of its existence, Russia's trade with the CIS countries has halved, even though Russia has spent more than 20 percent of the value of its gross domestic product to subsidize these links. For instance, Russia's financing of Uzbekistan has constituted approximately 60 percent of that republic's GDP. Last summer Russia refused to extend credits on easy terms as before and demanded gold as collateral against new credits, thus prompting the Asian states to launch their own currencies, which actually happened in November.

Russia will not pull out of Central Asia (just like from the other countries of the former USSR, including the Baltic

states) because this is a historically evolved single market where Russian goods are competitive and necessary today and tomorrow. This fact is not at all tantamount to a recognition of Russia's imperial ambitions. What is involved here is a new quality of relations which in the future may be formalized in new unions or even a union of the former USSR republics. This will possibly be a multi-currency zone with the ruble serving as a reserve (basic) currency. It is in light of this long-term prospect that one should assess the new Russian military doctrine, which was adopted in November and which envisions not only the stationing of Russian troops outside its territory (for instance, peacekeeping contingents) but also, what is the most important, the use of nuclear weapons as an instrument of addressing political and not purely military tasks.

The article is based on materials from the following publications: ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, VEK, DELO, DELOVOY MIR, IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, KOMMERSANT, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, OBOZREVATEL, NOVOYE VREMYA, PRAVDA, ROSSIYA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, SEGODNYA, SOGLASIYE, STOLITSA, TRUD, EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN, and also reports by TV, radio and news agencies, as well as the author's own information.

Need To Overcome Far East Electoral Apathy Discussed

OW0212131593 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Dec 93

[By V. Voropayev; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] What is the pre-election mood today, and the main question: Do Russians intend to vote at all on 12 December? [video shows Voropayev interviewing M.A. Demesh, sociologist from the DVO VTsIOM (?All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center, Far East District])

[Begin recording] [Demesh] I would like to note that at present there is some decrease in the political activity of Russians and a switch of interest from the state or community to private life. People are beginning to believe more in their own strength, and they have fewer expectations of receiving protection or support from the state. In 1990 nearly 80 percent of voters came to the ballot box, then at the referendum on 25 April of this year, only 64 percent came to vote. According to our latest polls, at present only 55 percent of the voters Russia-wide so far are intending to visit the polling centers on voting day. [video shows a column graph of voter turnout with the left-hand column labelled 1990 showing more than 80 percent; the next column labelled April 1993 is at 64 percent; and the right hand column shows the expected voter turnout at 55 percent, with a subsidiary column for the Far East region standing at 43 percent]

[Voropayev] And so the impassive figures show that if the mood of the voters does not change, the election of parliamentarians will barely take place and the referendum on the constitution is on the brink of failure. The only hope is that by 12 December the picture will change and fellow citizens who today are displaying apathy will understand that their votes are needed and realize that the time has come when we are duty-bound not simply to be the inhabitants of Russia, not just a faceless population, but citizens. [video cuts to show Voropayev interviewing Demesh]

Your work is sufficiently complicated technically in itself, and it must be particularly hard to conduct polls concerned with politics?

[Demesh] Yes, in this regard I would like to appeal to the inhabitants of the Far East: Respected residents of the Far East, please be more patient with our polls, take part in them, because from our publications and our appearances you will be able to get to know the opinions of people around you. Our basic task is to bring these opinions to our politicians and administrators so they will know how we live, how we would like to live, and what sort of Russia we would like to see. [end recording]

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin to Visit N. Ossetia, Ingushetia 6-7 Dec

LD0212135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1230 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 2 TASS—"I regard a working visit by President Boris Yeltsin to the state of emergency zone in North Ossetia and Ingushetia and his coming meeting with the leaders of North Caucasian territories, regions and republics as his close interest in the problem of settling racial relations in the area," North Ossetian leader Akhsarbek Galazov said in an exlusive interview with ITAR-TASS here on Thursday.

The interview was given after a meeting of the republican Security Council which examined issues pertaining to this event.

"The president's working visit will be held on December 6-7. He will have meetings with residents in the Prigorodny district as well as with the leaders of North Caucasian republics, territories and regions in the city of Nalchik.

"North Ossetia supports Yeltsin's desire to improve relations between North Ossetia and Ingushetia," the North Ossetian leader stressed.

"It is impossible to establish peace and good-neighbourly relations by force of arms. This will mean a dead-end. A constructive dialogue is necessary, as is a desire to meet each other halfway. The Ossetian and Ingush sides should make mutual compromises," Galazov continued.

The North Ossetian leadership consistently offers a package of peace-making actions which would give a chance to resolve this difficult problem. Under these conditions, it is necessary to involve all healthy forces, above all, people's diplomacy.

Their aim is to settle the problem of refugees as a whole. To give an impetus to settling relations between the two republics, Galazov stated, it is necessary to resolve several problems.

It is necessary to dump the question on the territorial remapping of borders, since it will lead to a new tragedy. North Ossetia is within the Russian Federation, and its multinational people do not imagine their life outside Russia.

"It is necessary to settle the problem of refugees and forced settlers as well as some other issues on the basis of the Kislovodsk agreements without speeding up events," Galazov stressed.

N. Ossetian Leader on Yeltsin Visit

LD0212201393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1128 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 2 Dec—I regard the trip by Russia's President Boris Yeltsin to the state of emergency regime zone on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, and his upcoming meeting with the leaders of the krays, oblasts, and republics of the Northern Caucasus as giving attention to the problem of the settlement of interethnic relations in the region," Akhsarbek Galazov, the head of the Republic of North Ossetia, said in an exclusive interview to the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

"In North Ossetia Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's striving to improve relations between North Ossetia and Ingushetia is supported," the head of North Ossetia stressed. "It is impossible to establish peace and good-neighborly relations by force of arms. What is needed is a constructive dialogue, reciprocal moves, and mutual compromises by the Ossetian and Ingush sides," he continued. "North Ossetia's leadership has been consistently proposing a set of peace-making actions that would make it possible to resolve this complicated problem. In order to gi· e a fresh impetus to settling relations between the two republics, it is necessary to remove the question of a territorial redrawing of the borders from the agenda, as this could result in a new tragedy, and to resolve the problem of refugees and forced migrants," Akhsarbek Galazov believes.

Shakhray Discusses Decentralization in Bashkortostan

LD0212185293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1733 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Raul Tukhvatullin]

[Text] Ufa December 2 TASS—Sergey Shakhray, first vice-premier, and leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord (PRES) promised to decentralize power from Moscow towards the regions in case his party wins the electoral race.

Speaking in Ufa, capital of Bashkortostan (republic within Russia) he said that the press is going to "entirely liberate the development of economic ties among the regions."

According to him, the regions would determine themselves what powers they delegate to the centre. It is exactly what the Bashkir leadership has been seeking for the past few years.

Upon leaving Bashkortostan, Shakhray went to another central-Russian republic Tatarstan where he is supposed to hold a one-to-one meeting with its President Mintimer Shaymiyev.

Shakhray Meets Tatarstan's Shaymiyev in Kazan

LD0212225693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1934 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, Russia's vice premier and leader of the Russia's Unity and Concord Party, arrived on Thursday in Kazan on a leg of his pre-election tour. The same day he met the President of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaymiyev behind closed doors.

Interfax has learned that problems concerning Russia's federal structure, the future status of the Republic of Tatarstan and other political subjects were discussed.

Interfax has learned from Shakhray that the president of Tatarstan is willing to throw his weight behind the Russia's Unity and Concord Party at the coming elections.

The vice premier expected that the election turnout in Tatarstan would be low. Therefore, he argued that the main thing was to let the citizens of Tatarstan to speak their mind at the polling stations.

Friday morning the vice premier leaves for Kaluga.

Filatov, Ryabov Meet With Moscow Region Mayors

PM0212154993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 1

[Vladimir Chuprin report: "Russia Needs a Constitution"]

[Text] On 30 November the mayors of rayons and cities of the Moscow region met with Sergey Filatov, leader of the President's Administration, and Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, who explained certain provisions of the new draft Constitution.

The Supreme Soviet got so carried away with amendments to the Basic Law that it completely subordinated it to its own interests and opened up the way to endless confrontation.

It is as plain as can be that for our society the question of the adoption of the new Constitution stands ahead of other, albeit very important tasks. If Russia finds itself without a Basic Law, we can kiss goodbye any hopes of successful economic reforms and civic peace and accord.

The parties in opposition to the government on the left and the right seek to wreck its adoption and to intimidate

taxpayers [as published] with the horrors of coming totalitarianism and the loss of social assets. You need not go far to find examples.

The latest Voters' Hour broadcast, in which Russia's Communists participated, was watched by Nikolay Ryabov in his office. Zyuganov did not fail to produce the bolsheviks' chief trump card in today's power struggle—the claim that the president's Constitution denies the people free medical help. Nikolay Timofeyevich opened the draft there and then and located the article which states in black and white that the state guarantees a medical service to citizens.

What are you to do, how are you to protect yourself against potential provocation? The best and most reliable way is not to take the professional orators' words on trust but to study the draft submitted for referendum yourself. Readers will realize after reading it that the Constitution contains articles which could be and will actually have to be subsequently amended, which requires two-thirds of the votes of State Duma deputies and three-fourths of the Federation Council votes. Yet another myth spread by the enemies of the Basic Law—the myth of a tame parliament and an all-powerful president—will thereby crumble.

In Filatov's opinion, the draft contains two indisputable advantages. First, the Constitution has direct effect. That is to say, any violation of it enables immediate recourse to the courts without the presence of any legal acts. Second, safeguards have been built in expressly so that the legislative organs cannot, as happened with the Russian Supreme Soviet, rewrite the Constitution in their own image.

At the end of the meeting Sergey Filatov and Nikolay Ryabov answered numerous questions from the audience. There was keen interest in a recent statement by V. Shumeyko, first vice premier of the government, in which he called for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Democratic Party of Russia not to be allowed to take part in the election campaign.

"We have received Shumeyko's message," Ryabov said. "It is now undergoing appraisal by our lawyers. It is to early to talk about any specific decision by the Central Electoral Commission."

No Federation Council Elections in Chelyabinsk

MK0212100093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 4

[German Galkin report: "Elections for Federation Council Will Not Take Place in Chelyabinsk"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk Oblast is one of three Russian regions where elections for the Federation Council will not take place on 12 December owing to the shortage of candidates. Therefore the main rivalry in the oblast will be in one-candidate districts for seats in the State Duma.

The newspaper CHELYABINSKIY RABOCHIY [Chelyabinsk Worker] reported to readers the other day, referring to an unofficial source, that Aleksandr Pochinok, candidate for the State Duma from Chelyabinsk Oblast and first deputy finance minister, had received a telephone call from a stranger who suggested that Pochinok withdraw his candidacy. Mr. Pochinok had no comment on this information.

As for the overall alignment of forces in the oblast, the greatest popularity is enjoyed by Russia's Choice, the Yavlinskiy- Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, and the Democratic Party of Russia (whereas one out of 10 inhabitants of the oblast is against all the parties and blocs). People of Chelyabinsk pin their hopes in the future parliament mostly on Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, with Yegor Gaydar closely following him, and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in third place. At the same time a considerable proportion of oblast inhabitants have no trust in any Moscow politicians.

The most favored local candidate is Vladimir Golovlev, chairman of the oblast committee for the management of state property, noted for the fact that he had brought several suits against local journalists. While none of the suits were taken to court, charges of abuse of office leveled at Golovlev stopped.

Curiously, unlike the other regions, far from all retired oblast officials in Chelyabinsk wanted to participate in the election campaign. For example, Petr Sumin, former chairman of the oblast soviet, refused to run. Nevertheless, virtually all present officials in the oblast administration are taking part in the electoral struggle.

According to preliminary figures, nearly 14 percent of the voters are not going to take part in the elections, while 23 percent have made no final decision on participation.

Kaliningrad Poll: Yeltsin Receives 22% Support

WS0312110493 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by N. Nikolayeva under the "Express Poll" rubric: "Yeltsin Is Still Popular, But Less Than Before"]

[Text] Between 18 and 20 November, the Kaliningrad Sociological Center conducted an express opinion poll among the inhabitants of Kaliningrad Oblast on their preelection moods. We explain to all those who are versed in such matters that the poll was conducted according to a four-stage stratified random sampling; that is, all the necessary terms for objective results were observed.

Thus, 68 percent of those people polled expressed the desire to participate in the upcoming elections for the federal bodies of power, 23 percent were undecided, while 9 percent were categorically against voting.

The new draft constitution was supported by 60 percent of respondents, 27 percent had no answer, and 13 percent would probably vote against it.

Only 18 percent of those polled acknowledged that they were well informed about the new voting rules, while 25 percent did not know anything. The knowledge of 48 percent was insufficient.

Among the sources from which people receive information about preelection blocs and candidates, the leader is central television (73 percent) followed by central newspapers (25 percent) and KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (23 percent).

The preelection bloc "Russia's Choice" is favored by 12 percent of those people polled. The same percentage would vote for neither bloc, while 40 percent had difficulty answering this question. The Russian Communist Party enjoys support among 4 percent of respondents, 7 percent back Yavlinskiy's bloc, and 6 percent—Zhirinovski's Liberal Democratic Party. Other blocs have even fewer supporters, while some of them (for example, "Cedar" [Kedr] and "New Names" [Novye Imena]) have none at all.

If elections were held tomorrow, Yeltsin would be as popular a presidential candidate as before, with 22 percent of respondents voting for him. Other politicians, including Shakhray, Yavlinskiy, Zhirinovskiy, Rutskoy, Zyuganov and others, have considerably fewer supporters (from 7 to 0 percent). For 24 percent of respondents, this question was difficult to answer.

The list of requirements that candidates for the Federal Assembly from Kaliningrad Oblast should meet is topped by such traits as honesty, decency, and the ability to defend regional interests in the Russian Government (47 percent). By the way, Vladimir Shumeyko enjoys the highest preelection rating among other candidates from our oblast.

It should be added that the poll was conducted with a sampling of 480 people, with 460 questionnaires processed.

Lipetsk Oblast Soviet Withdraws Support for Rutskoy

PM0212125993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Mirolevich: "Lipetsk Discusses Next Tasks of Soviet Power"]

[Text] Lipetsk—In Lipetsk Russia's only operating oblast soviet of people's deputies has held a routine session. The deputies made amendments to a decision adopted in response to B. Yeltsin's edict no. 1400 and also discussed the latest tasks of Soviet power for the period through the spring of 1994.

As we know, in September the Lipetsk people's deputies sharply denounced the president's edict and, supporting the actions of the Supreme Soviet, swore an oath of loyalty to the new president, A. Rutskoy, and approved the appointment of the new power ministers. After Rutskoy and the ministers appointed by the Congress moved from the White House to Lefortovo they remained, until the past few days, loyal to their imprisoned leaders.

But time has shown that the oblast entrusted to them has continued to live, fulfilling the edicts of the president elected by all the people and the resolutions of the government he has appointed. And the deputies themselves have not displayed any particular scrupulousness: For instance, they actively joined in preparation for the December elections scheduled by B. Yeltsin.

And now at the session, having drawn attention to the fact that it is a violation of order when the oblast soviet has one president and the rest of the people has another, the deputies decided to step into line. And they conducted another coup d'etat within the framework of the same hall of sessions: They dismissed A. Rutskoy with the ministers attached to him and thus again appointed B. Yeltsin for themselves. But to avoid waiving their principles completely they left in force the point of their decision denouncing the president's September actions.

The deputies then scheduled elections of the new representative organ of power for 6 March, confirming its new name with a consideration for "local conditions and traditions": the "Lipetsk Oblast deputies' assembly."

The Lipetsk Oblast people's deputies intend to gather for their next session immediately after the elections to the Federal Assembly, which speaks of their firm bolshevik conviction as regards the failure of the referendum on the new Constitution in which, as we know, there is no mention of Soviet power.

Gas Official Faces Angry Workers in Arctic City

PM0212163193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Sergey Leskov report: "The Return of Debts and Wages Will No Longer Calm Down Striking Nadym"]

[Text] Nadym—The strike by workers in the oil and gas complex in Nadym is spreading. On Wednesday 1 December 72 enterprises and 25,000 people were already on strike. Although the strikers are still demanding that the wages arrears dating back to May be cleared, the complaints against the government have been joined by other demands which are far harder to satisfy immediately.

A "Gazprom" delegation headed by Rem Vyakhirev flew into Nadym 30 November with emergency powers. This was indicated if only by the fact that it included deputy ministers from all the departments involved in the conflict. Nadym is now owed 93 billion rubles [R] in back pay, and the total budget debt to the region has reached the huge sum of R500 billion.

Construction workers (the former Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises) and motor transport workers make up the main nucleus of the strikers. They have not been paid since April-May. Virtually no one from Nadym took a vacation this year. It is important to emphasize, however, that the gas workers are continuing to work as usual.

The city where the sun appears for just four brief hours is seething. The motorcade was stopped by a picket of thousands near the very first State Automobile Inspectorate post on the way from the airport. Shouts of "Hit him!" were heard from the excited crowd. One of the most widespread placards read: "Gas is Russia's wealth, but we

face an impoverished old age." After considerable adventures the Moscow department representatives managed to reach the "Pobeda" culture center, where a meeting with strike committee leaders was scheduled. A rally had been under way outside the culture center since last Monday, and R. Vyakhirev attempted unsuccessfully to calm it down. Incidentally, although passions in Nadym are inflamed, you will not meet any drunks here. This is the second week that a dry law announced by the strike committee has been in force in the city. Voluntary people's militiamen have placed a guard on all the city's vital installations.

Valentina Kiryukhina, chairman of a rayon committee of the Trade Union of Working People in the Oil and Gas Sectors of Industry and Construction, demanded that Vyakhirev give a precise answer to the question: Are construction workers needed in Nadym? A sharp drop in investments has reduced capital construction in the North to a minimum, and the threat of imminent unemployment hangs over tens of thousands of people sent in past years to shock construction projects in polar regions. The situation is complicated by customers' missing payments to "Gazprom," which have now reached the astronomic sum of R2 trillion and are continuing to snowball. As IZVESTIYA predicted, the money sent to Nadym last week did not go on wages but was taken by the Ministry of Finance to clear debts.

Vyakhirev promised the strikers that all debts would be cleared within a week, and not just those relating to wages. The head of "Gazprom" told IZVESTIYA's correspondent that money will be taken partly from currency funds obtained as a result of selling Turkmen gas to the West. Estimates indicate, however, that this sum does not exceed $50 million and must sooner or later be returned to Turkmenia. V. Chernomyrdin telephoned Nadym early on the morning of Wednesday 1 December and gave an assurance that he would transfer here money which the CIS countries have pledged to pay for the development of the Russian oil and gas complex.

On Wednesday afternoon Vyakhirev was to report the results of his specialists' work in Nadym to the strike committee. Yuriy Kazanin, cochairman of the strike committee, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent that, whatever papers the latest Moscow commission signs, the strike will not end. Even the clearing of the wages arrears will not signal its end. The northerners will believe only a Russian presidential edict plus a government decree either on the further development of the North or on the resettlement to the "continent" of workers no longer needed.

By the time this issue was being signed to press, the talks between the Moscow delegation and the strike committee were still far from being concluded. At the same time the rally had flared up with new passion on the city square. Calls were being made for the Moscow commission not to be let out of Nadym until full guarantees of the fulfillment of the strikers' demands have been obtained. Reinforced pickets have been placed along the road to the airport.

Sverdlovsk Miners Defy Union Antistrike Decision

LD0212163593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1148 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Despite the decision to put off the strike from December 1 to December 6 taken by the headquarters of the Independent Russian Miners' Union, mine-builders in Severouralsk (Sverdlovsk Region) and Sakhalin miners went on strike, a representative of the Union's headquarters, Yuriy Yuryev, told INTERFAX on Thursday.

He said that the workers of three Sakhalin mines demanded that their wages be paid off immediately. If this demand is fulfilled, they will not join the strike on December 6, he said.

Meanwhile, talks continued on Thursday between the union's delegation and the government commission for the socioeconomic problems of Russia's coal-mining regions.

Several hundred workers of Severouralsk's five bauxite mines, which are under construction now, have joined the strike which began on December 1 to demand wage increases and the implementation of social programs, Chairman of the Independent Union of Mine Builders, Petr Lopatkin, told INTERFAX. A total of 15,000 miners, mine-builders and shaft sinkers work in Severouralsk.

Chairman of the Independent Union of Severouralsk Miners Aleksandr Yefremov informed INTERFAX on Thursday that the miners were ready to join the mine-builders, if the talks with the government found themselves in a deadlock.

On December 2, the union leaders sent a telegram to First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar warning him that if their demands were not fulfilled all of Severouralsk miners would go on an indefinite strike on December 6. The miners demand cardinal measures to stabilize the work of the aluminum complex.

Khabarovsk Official on Candidate Registration

OW0312125193 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 2010 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Telephone Interview with Valentina Vasilyevna Korpacheva, secretary of the District Electoral Commission, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Priamurye Day by Day" program—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] We continue to keep you informed on the progress of the pre-election campaign. The electoral commission of the Komsomolsk-na-Amure district No. 57 yesterday began registering its candidates. We are telephoning Valentina Vasilyevna Korpacheva, secretary of the District Electoral Commission. Good morning Valentina Vasilyevna.

[Korpacheva] Good morning.

[Correspondent] Please forgive us for calling you so early considering that your workday ended late last night. However, please tell us what the results were yesterday.

[Korpacheva) Yesterday we registered four candidates for deputy to the State Duma for our district. They were: Vladimir Ivanovich (Latynets), director of the electrical engineering plant; Kondrat Mikhaylovich Yevtushenko, head of the Amursk City Administration; Vladimir Ivanovich (Yebarysher), director of the private [word indistinct] enterprise; Boris Grigoriyevich Khachaturyan, teacher of No. 24 middle school.

[Correspondent] That is clear. Can you tell us, please, if this means that from today these people can consider themselves candidates?

[Korpacheva] Yes, from today they are our candidates for deputy in the Komsomolsk-na-Amure electoral district No. 57.

[Correspondent] Valentina Vasilyevna, can you clarify for us what problems has your commission come up against in the course of your work?

[Korpacheva] In the course of our pre-election work, we have come up against difficult issues, of course. There were many things that were unclear. For example, there were many questions in connection with the compilation of lists of candidates. We received clarification from the Central Electoral Commission and, generally, we asked for and received answers and explanations to all of our specific questions.

[Correspondent] Valentina Vasilyevna, did you have any comments for those nominated?

[Korpacheva] Yes, there were remarks of course, basically, over the compilation of the name lists. There were instances where one person signed for the whole family. However, I checked all this very thoroughly and such signatures were considered invalid.

[Correspondent] However, there was a sufficient number of signatures to qualify these four aspirants for the list?

[Korpacheva] Yes, each one of our aspirants for the deputy's mandate had sufficient number of signatures to qualify for the ballot list and now they all can consider themselves candidates for our district.

[Correspondent] Valentina Vasilyevna, thank you for the information and we wish you success in your work.

[Korpacheva] Thank you.

[Correspondent] Goodbye.

[Korpacheva] Goodbye.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Comments on START, Russian Troops

LD0212192893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1848 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Melnik for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 2 Dec—"We do not have the right to halt the disarmament process if we wish to be regarded as a civilized state. Therefore, I intend to submit the START I Treaty again with my comments for examination by the Supreme Council," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told journalists today during his tour round a number of welfare facilities in the capital.

He also said that Ukraine would oppose Russia's being granted a peacemaking mission in the republics of the former Soviet Union. The president of Ukraine stressed: "Each state should put its own house in order."

START Requires 'Adequate Decision'

LD0212220593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1934 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has stated he was unsatisfied with the parliament's decision on the ratification of the START-1 treaty. In November, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet ratified the treaty with numerous reservations.

"Taking into account our capabilities, positions and obligations, we must return to the issue and make an adequate decision," he stressed. "I cannot see why we cannot join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty." "We cannot be a state everyone would point at with his finger," he added.

Speaking at a scientific and research institute in Kiev today, Kravchuk pointed out that if the world community gave up its practice of applying pressure upon Ukraine on nuclear disarmament, the issue might be solved even faster. "Experience shows us that threats and sanctions are apparently not the best way to solve such complex issues," he pointed out.

The president supposed Kiev will manage to agree on the technical maintenance of its nuclear missiles with Moscow next year.

Commenting on the current economic situation in Ukraine, Kravchuk pointed out that it was necessary to create such a financial system that would ensure equal conditions for both state and private enterprises. A package of documents on the issue will be submitted for consideration by the Supreme Soviet in late December. Kravchuk said that over 20,000 businesses will be privatized or transformed into joint-stock companies in 1994.

Plyushch Favors Contacts Outside CIS

LD0212190593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] The speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ivan Plyushch, meeting Thursday in Kiev with French senators, said that Kiev should develop contacts with different countries, and not limit itself to CIS partners. "The Commonwealth of Independent States is a stillborn baby," he said. Plyushch believes that Ukraine has sufficient grounds for successful cooperation with foreign countries, since it is able to be a reliable partner in inter-state economic relations.

Speaking about Russia's role in the region, he said that Moscow's economic pressure on the former Soviet republics has become weaker. Plyushch explained this fact by the reduced production of energy resources in Russia in the presence of a huge army and military- industrial complex.

The Ukrainian speaker said that over the past three years the presence of Russian troops in trouble spots in Russia did not settle regional conflicts. He noted that Russian contingents may be present in some states only if those states request them.

Plyushch Cites France's 'Restrained' Position

WS0212132493 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Today Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch received a group of French Senate members. The guests visited Kharkiv, where they held meetings at the oblast administration and the city council. In Kiev, the French legislators visited the Foreign and Environment Ministries, as well as the Central Electoral Committee. They also visited Chernobyl.

Yves Guena, head of the French delegation, shared his impressions on the visit, expressed satisfaction with the talks with representatives of the state authorities, and voiced understanding of Ukraine's problems.

Answering a question about Ukraine's expectations regarding Ukrainian-French relations, Ivan Plyushch emphasized that there is only one thing Ukraine expects from Western countries: a common recognition of Ukraine as a competent European state. The sooner Western countries understand this, the better for everybody. In this regard, the Supreme Council chairman said that France's position on expanding cooperation with Ukraine is, unlike that of other European countries, restrained and wary. However, he expressed hopes that in the near future relations will improve.

At the end of the meeting, Ivan Plyushch invited the chairman of the French Senate to pay a visit to Ukraine at a convenient time.

Turkey Supports Demands for Security Guarantees

AU0212124993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 1 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Express Information": "To Prevent All Falsifications"]

[Text] The Republic of Turkey fully supports Ukraine's position with regard to providing it with national security guarantees and the necessary assistance for dismantling nuclear weapons. This was stated to Ukraine's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Turkey, I. Turyansky, by Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs H. Cetin during a meeting in Ankara. The Ukrainian diplomat acquainted the leader of the Turkish external political department with the text of Ukraine's Supreme Council decree on the ratification of START I and explained to him the reservations made by parliament.

Meanwhile, Ukraine's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in France, Yu. Kochubey, visited the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and handed the letter by our state's Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Zlenko to his French colleague, A. Juppe. The letter deals with questions of security and nuclear disarmament in connection with the ratification by Ukraine's Supreme Council of START I and the Lisbon Protocol.

Decree Sets Strength of Battalion in Yugoslavia

AU0212180693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 1 Dec 93 p 6

["Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree on Increasing the Numerical Strength of Ukraine's Armed Forces Battalion Within the UN Peacekeeping Forces on the Territory of Yugoslavia and on Sending a Group of Military Observers There"; issued in Kiev on 19 November]

[Text] Ukraine's Supreme Council,

taking into consideration the appeal by the UN Secretary General with the request to increase the numerical strength of Ukraine's Armed Forces battalion that takes part in the operations of the UN Peacekeeping Forces on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and also the proposal on sending military observers,

taking into account Ukraine's obligations, in accordance with the UN statutes, to fulfill the Security Council's decisions and to provide for its disposal armed forces, assistance, and corresponding means of servicing that are necessary for maintaining peace and security,

giving a high assessment of the contribution made by Ukrainian servicemen within the UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the efforts by the world community directed at putting an end to the conflict in former Yugoslavia,

believing that Ukraine's participation in securing the cessation of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, in particular, in Bosnia- Herzegovina, conforms to the interests of maintaining peace and security of Ukraine itself and contributes to its international prestige,

and taking into account its decree "On the Participation of a Battalion of Ukraine's Armed Forces in the Peacekeeping Forces of the United Nations Organization in Zones of Conflicts on the Territory of Former Yugoslavia" of 3 July 1993,

Decrees as follows:

1. To determine the limiting numerical strength of Ukrainian servicemen commissioned to the UN guarding forces in former Yugoslavia at 1,220 servicemen, who will be posted in

—motorized infantry subunits,

—support subdivisions,

—groups of officers at command and staff posts of the UN guarding forces,

—and a group of military observers.

The above subdivisions must be regarded as the Ukrainian contingent within the UN guarding forces on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

2. To authorize Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs to assign up to 20 persons for their possible utilization within the civilian police of the UN forces in former Yugoslavia.

3. Ukraine's cabinet of ministers must

a) provide the Ukrainian contingent of the UN Peacekeeping Forces in former Yugoslavia with necessary financial means, taking into account the fact that these outlays must be reimbursed by the United Nations;

b) To approve, within a month, the Regulations on the Procedure for the Payment by the United Nations of sums of compensation to those servicemen, who became disabled, and also to members of families of those servicemen who perished during the fulfillment of their duties within the Peacekeeping Forces under the auspices of the United Nations and for whom compensation sums for pension have been received.

[Signed] I. Plyushch, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council
[Dated] Kiev, 19 November 1993

National Affairs

Paper Says Parliament 'Torpedoed' Energy Law

AU0212192593 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 1 Dec 93 pp 1,3

[Leonid Dayen report: "Ukraine Is Freezing But, It Seems, People's Deputies Couldn't Care Less"]

[Text] **Not so many days have passed since the parliament torpedoed the law on energy conservation. It dealt the heaviest blow to the power engineering that, even without it, finds it difficult to make ends meet. The blocking by the people's deputies of the extremely necessary regulating document was enthusiastically welcomed by leaders of many industrial enterprises as an encouragement for further squandering electricity, which is in such short supply today.**

However, this act does not complete the list of gloomy dates in this year's November calendar of Ukrainian power engineers. Last Friday [26 November], the Supreme Council again dealt with the creators of heat and light in a manner that cannot be considered parliamentary. This time, the people's deputies killed the decree on urgent

measures for ensuring the functioning of the fuel and energy complex. This bill has been submitted by the commission in charge of questions of development of the basic branches of the national economy. There is hardly a need to prove the significance of such a decree now that, due to the absence of fuel, a whole number of electric power plants are under the threat of stoppage, and the majority of us feel the reverberations of the acute energy crisis in our own homes, where the mercury column remains at the 10-12 degrees point.

In the second half of the "black Friday," I visited the Ministry of Power Engineering and Electrification.

"We pinned great hopes upon the adoption of the decree," Minister Vilen Semenyuk told me. "It would have made all enterprises, all branches of the national economy, and the whole of Ukraine realize the critical situation in which our power engineering is at present due to the acute shortage of fuel, and would show how concerned the state is about saving energy sources. Unfortunately, the bill did not pass....

"The chairman of the Supreme Council put the bill to the vote, and the people's deputies 'killed' it without a second's hesitation. Perhaps, the position of the directors' lobby played its role: The managers have become too used to the obsolete and energy-consuming technologies.

"Meanwhile, literally within the last few days, the threatening situation in the power engineering deteriorated even further. Due to the absence of fuel, at a number of electric power plants, in particular, at the Ladyzhynska State Regional Electric Power Plant [DRES], only two out of six power units operate, and at the Burshtynska DRES, only six out of 12. Unless urgent measures are taken, the powerful Vuhlehirska DRES will only last another two or three days. While the supply of coal has more or less stabilized, the electric power plants receive only 15,000-16,000 tonnes of fuel oil a day, the needed amount being 30,000 tonnes, and 50 million cubic meters of gas, the required amount being 70 million."

During our conversation, the minister several times looked with concern at the electric indicator board. The figures 49.15-49.20 flashed on it.... The concern of the leader of the branch is perfectly understandable. The figures showed the working frequency of Ukraine's energy system. A normal frequency is 50 hertz. However, today, Ukraine's energy systems work in the conditions with the critical frequency within the range of 49.15-49.22 hertz. Special circuits for automatic frequency unloading began to operate systematically. They disconnect consumers in order to prevent a further frequency decrease in the circuits. There is a real threat that atomic power plants will be disconnected. Unless the decrease in the generating capacity is halted, there may be a catastrophe. The situation may only be saved if the fuel supply, especially that of fuel oil and gas, is immediately increased.

Meanwhile, the sharp increase of fuel prices causes an increase in the prime cost of electric energy. Today, it constitutes approximately 170 karbovantsi [K] per one kilowatt-hour. It is likely that, in the near future, the rate of energy for urban residents will amount to K90, instead of the present K30; for those who use electric stoves in cities—K60 and for rural residents—K50 for one kilowatt-hour. **P.S. Yet another not-quite-encouraging piece of news. Since yesterday, the time of television programs has been considerably reduced for electricity-saving purposes. So, farewell "Maria" during morning hours. For some people—"Simply Maria" and for others—simply economy. It was unavoidable....**

'Energy Famine' Hits Television, Schools

PM0212141193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Leonid Kapelyushnyy report: "Ukraine: No Television in Afternoon or After Midnight"]

[Text] Odessa—By order of the Communications Ministry, afternoon and after midnight television in Ukraine was stopped from 30 November. Ukrainian Television First Program is broadcasting from 1600 and all the rest from 1800, but only until midnight.

Such is the "picture" of how Ukraine is sliding into an alarming energy crisis. Economies in television will not save it from the crisis because the "process has gone" too far and too deep. In Odessa, for instance, 45 percent of industrial enterprises have shut down. Some schools have been closed because of the cold spells, and in many the youngsters sit in overcoats and mittens—something which Ukraine has not seen since the postwar years. There is serious talk of cutting the academic year short and postponing these study periods until summer to give children the chance to "recover" in the Spartan situation right now, since there is barely enough heating in homes as well and the city executive committee is introducing the tried-and-true Nicolae Ceausescu regime, a version of existence whereby people are sometimes without hot water and sometimes without heating. If schools really do close it would be an unprecedented occurrence for Ukraine, the like of which happened only in wartime and under the occupiers.

We can only guess what the consequences of the energy famine for fledgling Ukraine will be—the crisis has engulfed all sectors of the national economy; fragmentary reports of this are fleetingly glimpsed in the mass media but there has been no official report or even just a general picture. The average Ukrainian citizen is just left guessing as to what is happening and why it is happening. How come the country is half-frozen when it has its own oil, vast coal resources, and a dense network of heating, atomic, and hydroelectric stations? Why, having failed to find a common language with Russia, have the Ukrainian power structures done nothing practical to obtain oil by sea or land from the other side? Here, of course, it is of little comfort to the inhabitant that members of the cabinet of ministers are probably sitting in their overcoats too while the capital's streets are as dark as steppe villages.

Ukraine's power sources debt to Russia alone now totals $700 million. A vast sum if the poverty-stricken people had to pay it out of their own pocket, and negligible when

compared with the money lying around in the foreign accounts of Ukrainian exporters and businessmen.

With ill-concealed triumph politicians and politicos of an imperial persuasion now exclaim "aha!" They have had a surfeit of independence. Look where marching under the yellow-and-blue banner with a trident has landed them! Do they now realize the cost of not having Russia and the Union?! There is an increasing number of nostalgic sighs from simple, normal, unblinkered people. How can one fail to agree with Vyacheslav Chornovil, who is sounding the alarm that the state's independence is threatened. As I see it the threat is primarily an internal, domestic one rather than an external one. In Ukraine a situation favoring a sharp turn toward the familiar road of totalitarianism is developing.

As regards the television broadcasting cut itself, I venture to suggest that it is no great misfortune for citizens and no great saving, or at any rate not a critical one, for the state.

The single information space, which has been falling apart for a long time now, like rotten cotton does during darning, is now worth more than oil and gold.

Paper Details 'Elimination,' Reform of Military

WS0312112193 Lvov HOLOS NATSIYI in Ukrainian No 40-41 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Ukrainian Army Records"]

[Text] 1. The first super record—Ukraine's military doctrine was adopted by the Supreme Council in 15 minutes and without discussion. This alone proves that the doctrine has no significance for the Ukrainian Army. The elimination of the Ukrainian Army, officially termed "reform," is being conducted from abroad. A treaty was signed at the Clinton-Yeltsin summit on 10 June 1993, regarding nuclear missiles in Ukraine. Defense Minister Morozov visited the United States a couple of weeks later and told Americans that nuclear missiles were being removed from combat readiness. No such resolution had been adopted by the Supreme Council, neither was there one envisioning the withdrawal of tactical nuclear arms in 1992.

2. The first Defense Minister Morozov was nominated colonel general, skipping the rank of lieutenant general.

3. Commander of the Social-Psychological Department, a former retired sergeant, was promoted directly to the rank of colonel. The conclusion—the rank of Ukrainian Army colonel almost equals that of a retired sergeant in the Soviet Army .

4. In 1996, the Ukrainian Army (provided it survives that long) will receive only 10 percent of armor specialists it requires, due to the fact that Kharkiv Commanders College was liquidated at the initiative of the Kiev Tank Engineers College director, who wanted to eliminate competition.

5. Kiev Tank Engineers College must be the only military educational institution in the world without its own test-range.

6. Ukrainian officers receive no food rations. An officer may receive monetary compensation instead. Figures show that a Ukrainian officer's ration equals that of a watchdog.

7. Kiev Military District ceased to exist 10 months after Ukraine declared independence. One of the best districts in the former USSR rapidly became Ukraine's worst. For this deed, District Commander General Boryskin was nominated director of the Armed Forces Academy.

8. By the way, this is going to be the first military academy in the world without a stadium, on which a kindergarten and a couple of apartment houses are being built. General Boryskin failed to notice the vanishing of the stadium just as the vanishing of the military district.

9. Kiev Military College, one of the best in the USSR, was liquidated within three weeks in June 1992. The college test-range was considered the best among military educational institutions in the USSR. Two months after liquidation, the college was deemed the worst in Ukraine.

10. The shortage of lieutenants with principal military professions reaches 50 percent.

11. General Prokofyev, Military Education Department chief, had never been an academician, but became a candidate of pedagogic sciences. He became a general without serving in the Army, and became an Academy of Engineering member without writing a single scientific paper.

12. The Ukrainian Army's most powerful branch of service—the Land Forces—has not had a commander since 1 January 1992.

13. The first 11 Ukrainian generals were not ethnic Ukrainians.

14. Lieutenant General Olenovskyy has been appointed deputy Armed Forces Academy commander. He is 59 and has no higher military education.

15. All four military colleges for training antiaircraft artillery officers are being disbanded along with the Land Forces Academy of Antiaircraft Defense.

16. The foreign faculty at the Antiaircraft Missile College of the Land Forces Academy has been dismissed. After the liquidation of a similar college in Odessa, the training of foreign cadets in Ukraine became impossible. Representatives of 30 states were trained in Ukraine, including those from oil-producing countries. Tuition fees were paid in dollars (some $1000 per month). Ukraine's losses caused by stripping colleges of high-tech equipment reach the millions of dollars.

The Ukrainian Armed Forces will long feel the painful consequences of this kind of reform of military education.

17. A majority of officers in the Ukrainian Armed Forces serve to obtain apartments. The military elsewhere in the world serve to protect their states.

18. Ukrainian higher military command and generals corps are preoccupied with issues of disarmament and privatizing military property, including garrisons, sanatoria, hotels, and military equipment. The typical traits of

Defense Ministry leaders are pacifism and strong inclinations toward commerce and bribery. They are ready to transfer their best equipment to age-long enemies. Airfields in Mukachevo and Uzyn were leased to the British and Americans correspondingly.

19. The world does not know examples of a Strategic Intelligence chief personally demonstrating ultra-secret facilities to professional foreign intelligence officers. Ukrainian General A. Skipalskyy managed to do this.

20. Colonel Kukharets, the 53-year-old commander of an escort troops brigade, was promoted to major general. After two years, he was promoted to lieutenant general.

Defense Minister Promoted to Army General

LD0212184593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a directive in accordance with which Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy has been awarded a higher military rank. From now on he will serve in the Ukrainian Armed Forces as army general.

Members of Defense Ministry Commission Confirmed

LD0212230493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1745 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian defense minister has confirmed the new composition of the higher degree commission of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. Colonel General Ivan Bizhan, Ukrainian deputy defense minister, has been appointed its chairman. Colonel General Anatoliy Lopata, chief of the general staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and Lieutenant General Ivan Oliynyk, Ukrainian deputy defense minister, have been appointed as his deputies. Twelve commission members have also been confirmed.

Lieutenant General Oleksandr Ihnatenko, former head of the personnel directorate of the Defense Ministry, Major General Volodymyr Mulyava, former head of the socio-psychological service, Yuriy Prokofyev, head of the Defense Ministry's military education directorate, Mykhaylo Tsykun, former head of the Defense Ministry's directorate of affairs, and Viktor Hrechaninov, former head of the directorate of the rear of Ukraine's Armed Forces, who all belonged to the previous higher degree commission, which began work in May 1992, no longer belong to the commission.

Former Prime Minister: 'No Turning Back'

WS0212124193 Kiev KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by former Prime Minister Vitold Fokin: "Ukraine Might Lose Independence"]

[Text] I would like to share my opinion about a new program of action unveiled by the government.

Of course, it is negative. However, I have no intention whatsoever to blast anyone or look for the guilty. Instead, I would like to go to the core of the problem.

The demise of the USSR, which splintered into newly independent states, is an historical fact. However, instead of establishing borders, we should have started with devising basics of completely different economic policy, new economic legislation, and the consistent reconstruction of economic structures.

We hopelessly lag behind in addressing all those problems. Although I could also be blamed for certain things, I should say that while being overcome by unjustified euphoria, we were to quick to destroy state regulatory mechanisms and cut links with a unified economic complex.

I am far from being nostalgic. There is no turning back. But let us be realistic. Although a state monopoly might not be very efficient, it somehow ensured economic stability and kept the budget deficit and inflation in check. What was created in return? What innovations were introduced? Practically nothing. The result is obvious—a dramatic drop in production, depression, and a collapse of the financial system. Worse, most of the population has been reduced to poverty and forced to fight for its physical survival. This may result in social upheavals, which can have unpredictable consequences, loss of sovereignty being only one of them.

I have always been convinced that the desire of our people to have a strong state has nothing to do with the policies of isolation, alienation, or cutting all civilized links with the outside world, in the first place, with our closest neighbors. As they are leading to prehistoric caves, these policies will definitely sustain a humiliating defeat.

One should admit that international agreements and intergovernmental treaties do not bring expected results. They do not work. Miraculously survived direct economic links among our enterprises somehow keep our economy breathing. It is the restoration and expansion of those links and establishing a civilized system of cooperation that I see as a way out of the crisis. This is the goal of a new public organization recently registered with the Ukrainian Justice Ministry. Seizing the opportunity, I would like to say that the constituent assembly of the newly created Ukrainian Foundation for Humanitarian and Economic Links With the Russian Federation has already been held. I call on everyone to cooperate with that organization.

Now, a couple of words about our finances. As everyone knows, any budget is based on the balance of revenues and expenditures. The proposal of the present finance minister is a far cry from this balance. The worst thing is that it is impossible to improve that budget—it needs to be completely redrafted, which will call for altering the state's budget and subsidy policies. I have repeatedly said and can repeat it now that given the present economic crisis, subsidies can be offered only to those who cannot exist without them. They include:

1. Disabled members of society—veterans, pensioners, children from large families;

2. Servicemen and students, who fulfill their civil obligations, do not participate in production of material wealth;

3. Scientists, because the reduction of expenditures on science from 2.5 to 1.4 percent crossed all prospects for our economy;

4. Health-care and education workers, without which no nation can exist.

What about the rest? All of them must work hard enough to survive this situation. During the transition to a market system, no industry can be subsidized by the state. The "blanket" proved too small. So the state should warm only children and disabled. The rest have to take care of themselves. Finally, the budget deficit can be reduced by really fighting with criminals, black-marketeers, and embezzlers of state property.

Crimean Civil Congress To Boycott Election

WS0212152693 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Interview with Serhiy Lytvyn, leader of the Ukrainian Civil Congress of the Crimea, by Anatoliy Polonskyy; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Polonskyy] Serhiy Kharytonovych, the presidential campaign is currently under way in the Crimea. The people have gotten used to such a term as president of Crimea. Suddenly, your recently created party has stated that it will boycott the election. How do you explain this?

[Lytvyn] Our statement relates to the principal program of the congress. We want to preserve the territorial integrity of Ukraine, as well as stability and peace in the state. To achieve this, the status of the Crimea must remain unchanged and the Ukrainian Constitution must be obeyed. As is known, the Constitution does not provide for an office of Crimean president.

[Polonskyy] However, the Crimean Constitution provides for such an office.

[Lytvyn] Of course. But, let us recall how that Constitution was adopted. At that time in May 1992, being in a state of euphoria sparked by independence, deputies flipped over all the articles and adopted the Constitution in two or three hours time. On the following day, they began to correct it, however, the 23d Article—concerning the presidential office—remained untouched. Why did everybody agree on this? Because nobody even thought about a president at that time.

[Polonskyy] Is now the time for a president? Is a president the only thing we need?

[Lytvyn] Nowadays, we do not need anything else but one president. We have everything, but there is still no president. The people who have launched the electoral campaign, in my opinion, have completely lost touch with reality. How much money, how many billions will be spent on this election? Later, when a president is finally elected, great amounts will have to be spent on his administration and local offices. This is to happen at the same time when power plants are on the brink of closure, there is no money for oil products, gas, and coal; and the majority of Crimeans can hardly make ends meet. I am surprised why nobody has found the courage to say that it is time to stop all this. Currently, one must think how to cope with all the problems; how to live through the winter; how to protect people's health. One president is enough.

[Polonskyy] However, the process has already started. The Central Electoral Committee has been established and candidates are being registered.

[Lytvyn] I understand that the process cannot be halted now. Apparently, somebody cannot sleep thinking about the presidential laurels. If not the laurels, then the white limousine promised to the first Crimean president by Sevastopol billionaire Serhiy Shuryha. Are we really so naive? Do we believe that along with a president our apartments will get warm, or stores will begin to sell cheap sausage, as promised by communist leader Leonid Hrach. Has anything changed since Crimean independence was proclaimed, and the Cabinet of Ministers and the various ministries were established? Why should we appease ourselves with illusions, and put a president and his administration on our backs? The Ukrainian Civil Congress of the Crimea is against this. We will not participate in the presidential elections, and we want everyone else to do the same.

Belarus

Kebich, Russian Counterpart Meet in Valday

LD0212220393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] On Wednesday head of the Belarusian government Vyacheslav Kebich and Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin reached complete understanding with respect to Belarus' entering of the ruble zone of a new type.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: On Wednesday Kebich and Chernomyrdin met in Valday—where the latter is spending his short-term vacation.

According to official sources in Minsk and Moscow, Kebich informed Chernomyrdin that Belarus had completely paid off its debt to Russia for oil-product deliveries. The negotiations also focused on the issues of economic, trade and financial cooperation and conversion of debts. The premiers agreed that Russian enterprises should have an opportunity to participate in stock trading of Belarusian firms and Belarusian partners, in turn, will be able to procure shares of companies in the Russian Federation.

Minsk observers indicate that official messages still do not explain whether the understanding reached on Valday corresponds to the hopes of the parliament's majority to unite the monetary systems of both countries as soon as possible.

IF Note: Last week Belarusian parliament ratified an agreement on creation of a monetary union signed by Belarusian and Russian premiers this September. Thus, Belarus has fulfilled one of the major provisions proposed by the Russian party in the course of the corresponding negotiations.

According to messages from governmental sources, Belarusian leadership is concerned over the situation in the supreme echelons of power in Russia. As observers in Minsk believe, members of Russia's Cabinet of Ministers cling to various approaches with respect to the provisions under which the declared unification of monetary systems is to take place. Particularly, immediately after the signing of the agreement on creation of a monetary union by Kebich and Chernomyrdin, Gaydar, who returned to the government this September, put forward new demands to Belarus which had been not agreed to by the heads of two governments earlier.

In his interview with INTERFAX, Chairman of the Board of the National Bank Stanislav Bogdankevich reported that Gaydar, for example, insists on introducing changes into Belarus' legislature which would allow to create a single, along with Russia, market of real estate, land, and securities.

Reach Accord on Ruble Zone

LD0212203893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1732 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk December 2 TASS—Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich informed today's session of the Belarusian Parliament of the results of Wednesday's Valday talks with Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin. According to Kebich, the sides agreed to release until January 1, 1994 a political statement on Belarus and Russia entering a single monetary system. He said in his presence Chernomyrdin had a telephone conversation with Russian President Boris Yeltsin who spoke in favour of the new system being tested on Belarus' example.

The ratification of the agreement on the single monetary system by the Belarusian Parliament was supported by Chairman of the Russian Central Bank Viktor Gerashchenko and Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov. During the conversation with the Belarusian prime-minister, Chernomyrdin said so far Belarus is the only CIS country which can enter a single monetary system with Russia.

Kebich Speaks on Combat Readiness to Collegium

WS0212125693 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed BELINFORM report: "Vyacheslav Kebich: 'Reorganization of the Belarusian Army Is Being Conducted According to Plan.'"]

[Text] On 26 November 1993, a widened session of the Defense Ministry Collegium outlining the results of combat readiness of the Belarusian Armed Forces in 1993 and tasks for 1994 was held.

Colonel General Pavel Kozlovskiy and other Defense Ministry officials delivered reports.

In his introductory speech, Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich, who participated in the work of the session, devoted special attention to the key issues of economic and social policy of the government. Speaking about the issues of military buildup, he noted that on the whole the reorganization of the Armed Forces of the Republic is being conducted according to schedule. The Army plays a stabilizing role in the life of society. However, the army leadership will have to resolve a range of complicated issues. He stated that officers who are playing an especially important role in this process should be competent, have special knowledge in the upbringing of youth, and be able to create a sane moral atmosphere in military units. Current difficulties cannot justify low discipline, lack of organization and inefficient training of personnel in some units. On the whole, the Belarusian prime minister expressed satisfaction with the results of combat training and drew the audience's attention to the importance of their service to the state, the necessity of being selfless and honest in performing their military duty.

The defense minister briefed on the government's decision to confer titles to a group of generals and officers, and read a government decree naming Major General Vasil Dzyamidzik deputy defense minister.

Data, Controls on Missile Launchers Questioned

WS0212152293 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Koktysh: "Russian Rocket Launchers Like Belarus, Even If They Are Miscounted"]

[Text] Not long ago, IZVESTIYA devoted an entire page to reprint an excerpt from the book "To Security Through Cooperation." It also published a report by the commander in chief of the CIS United Armed Forces to the CIS High Military Command regarding the state of the CIS Armed Forces. His speech contains some data on Belarus. On the whole, everything appears okay. However, there is one weak point. I have some objections to the most important issue—regarding nuclear-armed SS-25 rocket launchers stationed on Belarusian territory. IZVESTIYA also cited the Memorandum on Establishment of Initial Data as far as the Agreement on Reduction and Limiting of Strategic Offensive Weapons between the USSR and the United States is concerned. Hence, IZVESTIYA says that Belarus is home to 54 rocket launchers. Meanwhile, the Belarusian Defense Ministry states that we have 72 rocket launchers. You can say that a dozen or so launchers do not come into account. Anyway, until recently, that is until 1993, Russian military transports from Belarus were not controlled. In 1993, all Russian shipments were put under Belarusian control. Currently, Belarusian representatives should be invited to participate in military training with weapons of this kind. The latest military training exercises in Mozyr Rayon can serve as an example of this kind. Moreover, Belarusian representatives have at last learned some information about the warranty period of their nuclear warheads. The Belarusian Defense Ministry claims that all the outdated nuclear warheads had been withdrawn from our territory while the remaining ones are not dangerous at all. Belarusian control over the rocket launchers is not complete. For example, the Russian military is controlling rocket launchers without our participation. According to the bilateral Belarusian-Russian agreement, the Russian party can press the rocket launchers' buttons only with the permission of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet.

As for the elimination of potential danger from these rocket launchers, the same Supreme Soviet has planned to withdraw them by 1996-1997. We have an agreement between Belarus and the United States outlining $20 million in financial aid Belarus stands to receive if it dismantles the Russian rocket launchers on its territory.

As for the incompatibility in the number of rocket launchers presented to us by the Belarusian Defense Ministry and Russia, I would like it to be a pure formal blunder.

Parliamentary Commission To Amend Constitution

LD0212220893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2008 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Minsk December 2 TASS—There is no end to a constitutional marathon in the Republic of Belarus. Today the parliament has resumed the discussion of the draft of a new constitution on which parliamentarians have been working for almost three years.

Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, cited the following figures: the draft constitution contains 152 articles, of which 88 are adopted as a whole, 13—partly adopted, and 51—rejected.

Deputies cannot agree on the main thing—what kind of state system of Belarus and system of power to choose. The crisis situation in which the country is finding itself now, gives some parliamentarians grounds to assert that this is happening because the republic has no head of state. After all, under the present constitution, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet is only the highest-ranking official, and the prime minister is the head of the government. Therefore many parliamentarians are inclined to think that the head of state and leader of the executive power must be a president.

However, despite heated debates on this issue, parliamentarians fail to obtain the necessary number of votes (no less than two thirds) for the establishment of presidency. In principle, this problem is quite solvable as the opposition in the Supreme Soviet is prepared to make a compromise and agree on the introduction of the post of president, but only if appropriate guarantees are given. Members of the opposition believe that in introducing the institution of presidency the parliament must clearly delimit the three powers: executive, legislative and judicial ones.

As a counterweight to strong presidential power, the opposition proposes to elect professional supreme soviet which will be working on a permanent basis. However, the majority of people's deputies advocating a strong hand, are firmly insisting on an unprofessional parliament. A conciliatory commission has been set up to settle this dispute, and at today's evening meeting parliamentarians interrupted the further discussion of the draft of a new constitution of the Republic of Belarus.

Moldova

Lucinschi, Delegation Return From Kiev

AU0212154693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] The official delegation of the Republic of Moldova led by parliament president Petru Lucinschi returned to Chisinau today from Kiev, where it had attended the second session of the Parliamentary Assembly for Cooperation in the Black Sea Basin. Petru Lucinschi's presence

in Kiev was an opportunity for him to meet with his Ukrainian counterpart Ivan Plyushch and with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

On this occasion, the two sides discussed questions of bilateral interest as well as the conflict that exists in the eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova. They also agreed to take a number of measures to remove the barriers, especially legal and customs barriers, that emerged of late in relations between the two states.

As our correspondent in Chisinau Mircea Dascaliuc informed us, the two sides also examined certain questions connected with the status of assets in the Ukraine that belong to the Republic of Moldova.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Continues Campaign To Abolish Soviets

MK0212135093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3

[Sergey Kozlov report under the "Kazakhstan" rubric: "Abolition of Parliament Completed. President's Actions Evoke Strong Disapproval"]

[Text] In May 1994, the Kazakhstani Supreme Soviet of this convocation will be dissolved immediately after early elections. The deputies' term of office was to expire in a year, in the spring of 1995, but late last Tuesday night the parliament's fate was sealed by "negotiations" of sorts between President Nursultan Nazarbayev and members of the legislature's presidium. The head of state "convinced" people's deputies of the need to dissolve themselves and make way for a new lineup, or for what has been referred here as a professional parliament.

The campaign for the abolition of soviets at all levels (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has already reported it) began immediately after the first half of the 11th parliament session ended at the end of October. The deputies were to assemble for the second half of the session on 8 December. This is what apparently will happen, but the agenda will change and meetings themselves will take on a completely different nature. The parliament will have to pave the way for the upcoming legislature, that is, to streamline and to adjust the budget, to pass the laws on elections, on the Supreme Soviet, and on local authorities.

"Still, I do not think that we should talk about the parliament's self-dissolution now," said Vitaliy Voronov, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. "Only a tentative agreement has been reached with the president and there is no telling what will be said at the session itself, but in any event everything should proceed strictly within the constitutional framework. Presently, however, I am not confident about this."

It cannot be ruled out, however, that nothing will be said at all if the conversation turns out to be inconvenient for the executive branch. A mechanism for disbanding the Supreme Soviet in this event is fairly simple: deputies with whom "presidential people" have already conducted preliminary work will simply resign and deliberations will stop because of a lack of quorum. This pattern has already been used to abolish over 150 local soviets throughout the republic.

Ironically, simultaneously with talks at the Supreme Soviet Presidium, a "roundtable" session was under way at the head office of Kazakhstan's largest party, the People's Congress, which brought together leaders of two dozen political organizations, movements, and associations of the country. The meeting was devoted precisely to the political situation in the republic and the self-dissolution of soviets at all levels.

Unaware that their militant addresses in defense of democracy were coming amid negotiations at the Supreme Soviet building on acceptable conditions of "the parliament's capitulation," leaders of 16 political parties and public organizations nonetheless issued a joint statement expressing concern over the unconstitutional process of abolishing the representative branch of power. Parties saw this not only as a threat of dismantling the institution of legislative authority, but also as irreversible change in the system of the executive authorities, which may just as well end in a dictatorship.

"When the second half of the session opens, we should bring people out to the streets and to give our backing to the deputies," said Oleg Abrayev, president of the Democratic Committee for Human Rights, "so that they could retain the Supreme Soviet as an institution of power. The situation is very difficult and we should demand that the Supreme Soviet disband the current government, of which everyone has already gotten sort of sick and tired and which does not help society move forward or backward. In addition, it is essential to raise the question of the president's resignation, for a person who has been unable to offer an anti-crisis program to society during his entire tenure may not claim to be the people's president."

Deputy Vladimir Chernyshev, who also addressed "the roundtable," assured leaders of the political parties that if the parliament is nevertheless abolished by methods proposed by the executive branch, they, leaders of political organizations, will be the next to go.

Of all Kazakhstan's parties only the Republican Party embraced the Supreme Soviet's immediate self-dissolution, but then again only in the hope that the opposition will get a chance to fill the vacant seats. Aleksandr Peregrin, member of the parliamentary Human Rights Committee, tried to dispel these illusions. "The Supreme Soviet has become inconvenient for the executive branch only after it has gotten around to exercising control over the enforcement of laws," he said, "but look what conditions accompany what amounts to an effective political abolition of the Supreme Soviet. Our guarantor of the enforcement of the Constitution—the president—has effectively authorized unconstitutional actions and has been trying to replace the soviets with a body of real Gauleiters [leaders of political districts under Nazi control]. The elections will be in no way democratic as you hope they will, and you will have no chance to get elected to the parliament, because the situation in which they will take place, in all likelihood, will be controlled by presidential people."

Presidium Accepts Nazarbayev Plan To Reform Legislature

LD0212221093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] At its meeting Tuesday the parliament presidium discussed bills on local legislative and executive branches of power, the parliament and the draft law on elections. President Nursultan Nazarbayev attended the meeting.

The documents will be submitted to the parliament session, whose second stage will begin December 8.

The bill on parliament suggests a standing parliament with 177 deputies, 135 to be elected from territorial constituencies, the remaining 42 deputies—in line with the state list proposed by the president i.e. 2 persons from each region and the cities of Almaty and Leninsk.

It is proposed to call local legislatures not councils, but deputies' assemblies. They will be preserved in regions, districts and cities.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: These recommendations by the presidium coincide with President Nazarbayev's view which he expressed in an exclusive interview to Interfax special correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov. The head of state said that the spontaneous campaign against councils in some regions was a sort of reaction to the Moscow developments of October 3-4. Nazarbayev backed the "initiative from below" and proposed that councils should be replaced by "medjlises" or by people's assemblies. Experts say that preference was given to the Russian version for naming the legislatures due to the demographic situation in Kazakhstan where only 42 percent of the population are ethnic Kazakhs.

Member of the Parliament Presidium Vitaliy Voronov has told Interfax that if the parliament adopts these bills at the December session, parliamentary and local elections will be set before the summer of 1994.

Nazarbayev on Guidelines for Using Republic Guard

LD0212145693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Almaty December 2 TASS—"In accordance with Kazakhstan's constitution and law on defence and Armed Forces, the republic's guards are in reserve of these forces in time of war; therefore, they must be not only appropriately trained, but also have an organizational set-up enabling them to implement their combat assignments successfully," said President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, addressing a session of the republic's Security Council on Thursday.

"The republic's guards may not be used under any circumstances in settling non-peaceful conflicts between other countries," he emphasized.

The session considered and adopted guidelines for the development and of the guards [as recieved] wherein the latter are obliged to take care to the best of their abilities of preserving and maintaining a stable political situation within the republic, and precluding possible anti-constitutional actions on the part of certain extremist layers of population.

According to the document, soldiers and officers of the republic's guards may be involved into rescue operations at a time of emergencies or natural disasters.

Kazakhstan's Security Council also adopted guidelines for the development of the republic's naval forces.

Armenia

Yerevan Criticizes Gasanov's Address to CSCE

NC0212173193 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1146 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, 2 Dec (ARMENPRES)—Aram Safaryan, press secretary for the Armenian Foreign Ministry, told reporters that the Foreign Ministry deplores Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov's address at the CSCE foreign ministers' conference in Rome because it is incompatible with the CSCE principles and the mandate defined by Minsk Group on 24 March 1992 and because it attempts to determine the status of Nagorno-Karabakh even before the Minsk Group convenes. This is tantamount to pushing the peace process back two years.

Safaryan expressed the Armenian authorities' resolve to support the efforts of the international community for the civilized resolution of the conflict.

Azerbaijanis Reportedly Attack Karabakh Positions

NC0212160393 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1443 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, 2 Dec (ARMENPRES)—Azerbaijani troops based in Beylagan Rayon launched an offensive this afternoon against the Karabakh positions in the southeastern sector of the front. The Azerbaijani troops were supported by armored cars.

The battles were still continuing at 1700. According to preliminary reports, there have been losses on both sides.

According to intelligence gathered by the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army, Afghan mojahedin are taking part in the Azerbaijani military operations.

Tension in Karabakh, Role of Afghans Assessed

NC0212181393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now report on the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan's effort to internationalize the dispute has not escaped the attention of the United Nations and the other international organizations. The neighboring republic's activities, which are aimed at escalating tension in the region, have caused serious anxiety. [passage omitted]

The situation on the battlefront has not changed. Tension is high. Azerbaijan's military forces still fire on the Armenian defense positions in parts of the battlefront. They use various types of arms in their provocative activities.

The NKR Defense Headquarters has revealed that Azerbaijan's military units in Beynaganskiy Rayon fired on the Armenian defense positions around Buyuk Baghdanly in Fizulinskiy Rayon with mortars, infantry combat vehicles, and machine guns the night before last and yesterday morning. They fired on the Armenian positions in Mardakertskiy Rayon at the same time. No one was wounded. The Armenian forces did not return fire.

Azerbaijan's official circles are trying to justify the participation of mercenaries, Afghan fighters in particular, in the aggression against the NKR. Yesterday, that republic's mass media disseminated false reports claiming that special military units were transferred from Syria and Iran to the NKR during the past few days. The reports also claimed that the units that were dispatched clashed among themselves.

The NKR Defense Headquarters refuted those reports yesterday. Azerbaijan's objective in disseminating those reports is to justify the Afghan fighters' participation in military operations. [passage omitted]

We stress that Azerbaijan's ruling circles are taking measures to internationalize the dispute. Obviously, that republic will be fully responsible for the consequences of its approach. The Armenian people in the NKR are struggling to achieve independence on their historic land. That is not abnormal. But Azerbaijan's rulers have described their struggle as a move to disrupt that republic's territorial integrity.

The situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan is relatively peaceful.

Azerbaijan

Officer Denies Request Made for Russian Troops

NC0212212693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Report broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...We asked Colonel Arif Aliyarov, the head of the Border Guards headquarters at the Azerbaijani Ministry of National Security, if this report were true.

[Aliyarov] I made an urgent telephone call at 1800 yesterday to (Aloyoshna), the secretary of the press bureau of the Russian Border Guards. The Russian representative said that he had no knowledge of this report and that such a report was probably not disseminated by the command of the Russian Border Guard.

Of course, we are ready to maintain contact with Russia and all the other states bordering Azerbaijan to forge a join understanding on the defense of the borders, to act jointly within a legal framework, to hold talks with each other at the appropriate level, and to ensure the (?implementation) of border regulations.

However, neither the leadership of our ministry nor the command of the Azerbaijani Border Guards has made any proposal to Russia to dispatch the Russian Border Guards to Azerbaijan and deploy them along Azerbaijan's borders with Turkey and Iran. They have never been invited here. Azerbaijan is an independent state, and it has its own Border Guards, which continue to defend Azerbaijan's own borders.

Official Denies Arrests Based on Political Views

NC0212210693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Russian media are reporting that Rakhim Gaziyev, Ihtiyar Shirinov, Gabil Mamedov, Siyavush Mustafayev, Aydin Kasymov, Isakhan Ashurov, and others have allegedly been jailed for their political beliefs. How true are these claims?

[Begin Prosecutor General Ali Omerov recording] Such claims generally do not conform with reality. These claims are nothing but a bid to justify these individuals committing real crimes. None are jailed for their political views. Take [ex-Defense Minister] Rakhim Gaziyev: He has been punished for embezzling a large quantity of state property and for carelessness as defense minister during the tragedy of Shusha and Lachin. Could there be any talk of political views here?

Take [ex-Prosecutor General] Ihtiyar Shironov and Sulettin Ekberov: Their primary task was to ensure legality in the republic. No one asked them to go to Ganja and instruct the Azerbaijani Army to kill the people of the city.

Take Siyanush Mustafayev [ex-deputy foreign minister of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic]: During clashes organized by him in Nakhichevan, several people suffered injury.

And take Aydin Gasymov, who was jailed for abetting Turkish citizen Hasan Tokun in his assassination attempt against the Republic's President Geydar Aliyev.

All these are proven by investigation. Could there be any talk about political views? Their acts, intentions, and crimes are evident. [end recording]

Georgia

First Round of Tbilisi-Abkhaz Peace Talks Ends

LD0212164093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] The first round of negotiations to resolve the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict ended in Geneva.

The key measures for resolving the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict were outlined yesterday in the memorandum of understanding signed by the Georgian and Abkhaz delegations.

This document was worked out on 30 November-1 December at the negotiations held here under the auspices of the United Nations, with Russian assistance and the CSCE's participation.

The memorandum says that under the key regulations of the Sochi agreement of 27 July 1993 on the cease-fire in Abkhazia, the two sides undertake the responsibility not to use force or a forceful threat against each other during the period of time of negotiations aimed at a full-scale political settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia. They consider that deploying international peace-keeping forces and an increase in the number of international observers in the zone of conflict, sent with the consent of the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general, would assist in maintaining peace.

As a gesture of good will, the two sides will exchange POWs under the principle of everybody for everybody, on 20 December 1993, without putting forward any preliminary conditions. Emergency measures are to be taken for finding the missing, for which the sides will exchange relevant lists. Those who were killed are to be reburied.

The sides assume responsibility for creating conditions for a prompt return of the refugees to their homes in every rayon of Abkhazia, of their own free will and without fear. Every refugee is to be given back their apartments, houses, lands, and properties.

Georgian and Abkhaz sides appealed to the international community to assist restoring the systems for securing the lives of the population in the zone of the conflict and render humanitarian aid to the victims.

They expressed the wish to set up a commission of international and national delegations to assist the restoration of the economy in the conflict zone.

A group of experts to prepare recommendations for the political status of Abkhazia is to commence work in Moscow in the beginning of December 1993. The representatives of the two sides, the United Nations, the Russian Federation, and the CSCE will be included in the group. The group is to prepare a document on the next round of negotiations to be held on 11 January either in Moscow or Geneva.

The memorandum was signed by the leader of the Georgian delegation, Georgian deputy Jaba Ioseliani, and the leader of the Abkhaz delegation, First Deputy of the Supreme Council Sokrat Jinjolia.

The signature was secured by the UN secretary general's special envoy Eduard Brunner, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, and a representative of the CSCE, (Vincenzo Mali).

Delegation Issues Statement

LD0212234193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] We will familiarize you with the statement by the Georgian delegation at the Geneva talks.

Geneva, 30 November 1993.

The Georgian delegation has arrived in Geneva in order to once again try to solve, in a peaceful way, the armed conflict in Abkhazia, one of the regions of Georgia.

Observing the United Nations regulations, and the principles of the final act of the Helsinki Conference and the Paris Charter for the new Europe, and confirming her readiness to assist with the ideas of international security and law, Georgia is disposed to build its relations with other sides on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation, and observe minorities' human rights within her state.

Georgia fully supports those regulations and conclusions that are included in UN Security Council Resolutions 849, 854, 858, 876, and 881, as well as the statements and speeches made about Georgia and Abkhazia by the UN secretary general and the Security Council chairman.

Georgia notes with satisfaction the coincidence in the stance between her and Russia, expressed in the Russian Government's 8 October 1993 statement on the assessment of the events that had developed after the breach of the Sochi 27 July 1993 agreement on the cease-fire.

The above mentioned documents unequivocally prove the steadiness of Georgia's territorial integrity and only on this basis are these negotiations possible. Georgia will never be reconciled to the infringement of its territorial integrity secured by international law.

When making a decision on participating in these talks, Georgia was facing a complex dilemma—as before, every attempt at resolving the conflict in a political way had ended tragically.

The Gudauta group had treacherously violated the agreements of 3 September 1992, 14 May 1993, and 27 July 1993, continuing to carry out combat actions with the help of the mercenaries. It carried out the genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Georgian population. The Gudauta group had occupied Abkhazia, and together with the killer mercenaries and the bandit formations of the so-called Confederation of the Caucasian Peoples, is finishing carrying out its goal. Besides thousands of killed and wounded people, more than 200,000 Georgians and people of other nationalities, Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks, and Armenians had been forcibly removed from their native lands and evicted from Abkhazia.

It is impossible to avoid mentioning the fact that the Gudauta group was acting in cooperation with the revanchist forces of the deposed Fascist regime of Gamsakhurdia.

In effect, after the Gudauta side had violated the 27 July 1993 cease-fire agreement, the revanchist gangs, besides resuming combat actions, carried out full-scale attacks on the sub-units of the Georgian Armed Forces deployed in the region of the territory of the conflict.

The fact that the Gudauta group and Gamsakhurdia's Fascist gangs are in alliance is proved by coordinated military actions as well as using the same mercenaries and services of the citizens of foreign countries. The most atrocious, anti-human, and preplanned policy is being carried out and it is tantamount to international crime.

At the moment, competent Georgian bodies are carrying out an investigation into both mass violations of human rights in Abkhazia, and in particular, into the policy of genocide and ethnic cleansing, as well as the instances of anti-government actions committed by gangs of Gamsakhurdia's supporters on the territory under their temporary control. The investigation is being carried out in order to unveil the personalities of perpetrators who committed the above- mentioned crimes and to take them to court on the basis of Georgian criminal law on punishment and avoiding genocide.

In the meantime, it is necessary that the UN Security Council create an international tribunal for punishing the perpetrators of the above-mentioned crimes.

Despite the most complex circumstances, trying to avoid further bloodshed and resolving the conflict by means of force, Georgia once again expresses good will and, as before, is ready to sit at the negotiating table, as she believes that Russia's assistance and the participation of other UN member-states as observers at the negotiations will help resolve the conflict peacefully and politically.

We express satisfaction over the fact that this meeting is taking place in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 874 of 19 October 1993. We are grateful to the Swiss Government for assisting to organize and hold the negotiations.

Shevardnadze Returns From Visit to Ajaria

NC0212183393 Yerevan SNARK in English 0851 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, December 2 (SNARK)—This night Eduard Shevardnadze returned to Tbilisi from Ajaria (autonomous republic in the Western Georgia) where he met Aslan Abashidze, the Chairman of Ajarian Parliament.

The participants of the summit discussed on the new Russian-Georgian agreement that determines the status of Russian troops deployed in Georgia, Georgian leader's press center informs. Shevardnadze and Abashidze estimated the role of Russian troops deployed in Georgia as 'favorable'.

Tbilisi, Abkhaz Units Continue Fighting

LD0212165493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1148 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Abkhazian units in the afternoon of December 1 attempted to break through to Georgian villages situated in the Kodori Canyon in the east of the Gulripsha Region of Abkhazia, a spokesman for the Georgian Defense Ministry has told INTERFAX.

Tbilisi, however, claims that the attempts were curtailed by self-defense units and Georgian Government units which arrived from Svanetia.

Late in November Abkhazian forces occupied three Abkhazian villages in the Kodori Canyon. The Abkhazian authorities say that they are clearing the republic's territory of Georgian troops hiding in the mountains after the main force was defeated in Sukhumi and the Ochamchira area in September. For its part, Tbilisi says that the Abkhazians are practising "ethnic cleansing" of the Georgian population in the mountainous villages in the east of the Gulripsha area of Abkhazia.

Meanwhile, the Abkhazian Defense Ministry reports fighting between the Abkhazian units and what they call bandit armed units, Georgian Government troops remaining near the village of Primorskoye of the Ghali Region. As a result of the fire exchange 5 Abkhazian fighters were killed.

Ioseliani: Abkhaz Issue Unsolvable Without Russia

LD0212174693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1452 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva, 2 Dec—The Abkhaz question cannot be solved without Russia, reckons Jaba Ioseliani, deputy to the Georgian Parliament, assessing the role of Russia in the settlement of the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia. Replying to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, put to him during a news conference devoted to the results of the meetings held here on 30 November and 1 December, he stressed: We often talk about it, and we now repeat that the key to a settlement is to be found in Moscow.

The Georgian and Abkhaz delegations signed a memorandum of understanding during the talks, which were organized under UN auspices with assistance from Russia and the CSCE. They agreed to exchange prisoners on 20 December according to a principle of everyone for everyone, to set up conditions for the return of refugees to Abkhazia and for locating missing persons, and pledged to refrain from using, or threatening to use force during the period of talks on a full political settlement. It has been decided to set up a group of experts to prepare recommendations concerning Abkhazia's political status. The date when the second round of talks is due to begin has been set for 11 January, the venue being Moscow or Geneva.

According to Ioseliani, the Russian side has made a significant contribution toward the achievement of a positive result at the talks. Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov has taken part in the talks representing Russia. They, (the Russian diplomats) have done a lot to ensure that the talks follow a course of understanding; they have made efforts and made their influence felt here, stressed the head of the Georgian delegation and added that Russia's role in resolving the crisis was tremendous.

Estonia

Russian-Estonian Talks End Without Agreement

Diplomat Notes 'New Complications'

LD0212193693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1818 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 2 Dec—The two days of talks in Tallinn between the delegations of Russia and Estonia regarding the withdrawal of Russian troops from that Baltic republic have ended without result. Vasiliy Svirin, leader of the Russian delegation, told journalists today that the sides had not made any progress in drawing up the treaty on the withdrawal from Estonia of the Russian Army units stationed here by 31 August 1994. The Estonian side proposes that the troop withdrawal be completed by 1 January 1994. "Russia cannot agree to that," Vasiliy Svirin stressed.

The diplomat said that new complications have also arisen in the sphere of compensation for property left behind, and for ecological damage caused by former USSR troops. An accord was reached previously stipulating that Russia hand over to Estonia all the Army's real estate and not make any financial claims. Estonia, in its turn, renounces any suits for losses caused to the environment by the Russian Army.

The position of the Estonian side has now changed, Vasiliy Svirin noted. It is demanding a review of the scale of the ecological damage after the complete withdrawal of the troops. This new demand has also complicated the talks process.

The diplomat said that the Russian side is worried by Estonia's position on the question of the social protection of military pensioners and members of their families living here, as well as by the unwillingness to give them residence permits and the striving to present military pensioners as a threat to the independence of Estonia. But, of the 11,000 military pensioners living here, about 7,500 are people aged between 50 and 70.

In connection with the policy being conducted by the Estonian authorities, which is aimed at this category of the population, the Russian Foreign Ministry has approached a number of countries and international organizations, including the Council of Europe and Max van der Stoel, the CSCE supreme commissioner for national minorities, expressing concern about the fate of military pensioners and members of their families, and has also called attention to the uncivilized methods of deciding the fate of these people, Vasiliy Svirin told journalists.

Minister: 'No Decisive Results'

WS0312102493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1804 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 2—Estonian-Russian talks on troop withdrawal held in Tallinn on Wednesday [1 December] and Thursday brought about no decisive results and no withdrawal timetable, the Estonian Defence Minister Juri Luik said.

"The two-day stay in Tallinn of the head of the Russian delegation at Estonian-Russian inter-state negotiations, Vasiliy Svirin...was a working one," Luik told ETA.

Luik said both parties had discussed texts of several agreements and differences in opinions while adding that Svirin had presented no withdrawal timetable. The timetable had been introduced in principle, Luik said. Estonia's attitude towards it was critical and several proposals were made, he added.

Luik also said the parties had discussed Estonian-Russian summit, but it had brought "no decisive results."

Residence Procedures for Foreign Soldiers Detailed

WS2511113093 Tallinn MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PRESS RELEASE in English 23 Nov 93

["Immediate release" from the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "Estonian Government Approves Residence Permit Application Procedure for Retired Foreign Military and Their Families;" "backgrounder" received via Internet on-line services]

[Text] Pursuant to the Law on Aliens, the Estonian Government on November 23 approved a decree establishing the procedure for granting residence permits to retired foreign military personnel and their families in Estonia.

Despite the fact that Estonia, like Germany, is not required to issue residence permits to foreign military personnel on its territory, the Estonian Government has decided to take this step out of humanitarian consideration for those individuals for whom Russia, despite its moral and legal obligations, has not provided decent opportunities to return home. It is a particularly courageous and noteworthy move for the Estonian Government since Russian troops still remain illegally in Estonia and, in fact, outnumber the Estonian defense forces.

In light of national security considerations, Estonia set a cut off date of 20 August 1991, the date on which Estonia restored its independence. Anyone who retired from the military before that date is eligible to apply for a residence permit if:

1) he was born before January 1, 1930;

2) his spouse or minor child is a citizen of Estonia or has a permanent residence permit, or;

3) the Estonian Government deems his presence in Estonia to be necessary.

This decision provides a sense of security regarding the future for a substantial category of people by setting up a clear procedure for obtaining residence permits. The retired individual along with his family must submit to the Immigration Bureau an application, in which he promises to uphold the laws of Estonia, along with other required documents before 12 July 1994. A commission made up of the Director of the Immigration Bureau, representatives of

the Defense, Internal Affairs, and Social Welfare and Foreign Ministries and to be headed by the Minister of Nationalities will prepare a request for a decision by the government as required by the Law on Aliens. After that the Immigration Bureau will issue the residence permit.

This multi-phase procedure derives from the requirements of the Law on Aliens, creating at the same time an opportunity to avoid issuing residence permits to individuals who have perpetrated serious crimes, worked in foreign intelligence, or presented false information on their applications.

Estonian laws on citizenship and related issues are flexible, liberal and generous despite the radical changes in Estonian demography carried out during fifty years of Soviet occupation. The requirements for naturalization law are but two years of residency, a knowledge of the Estonian language, and an oath of loyalty. The Law on Aliens passed 8 July 1993 provides a legal basis for noncitizens to reside in Estonia and a mechanism for them to participate as well in Estonian local elections.

Poll Gives Government Lowest Ratings

WS0112121493 Tallinn BNS in English 1719 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 30, BNS—The Estonian president enjoys more trust than the parliament, the government or the opposition according to a recent opinion poll held by the EMOR Sociological Service and published in the RAHVA HAAL newspaper.

Twenty-five percent of the respondents gave preference to President Lennart Meri, 13 percent to the opposition, 12 percent to the parliament and 11 percent to the government. Twenty-two percent of those polled stated that they did not trust anyone.

Compared to the previous polls, the population appears to have become more disenchanted. Only 29 percent of the respondents trust the government, while 75 percent believe that the government's work differs with the population's interests.

The report marks the government's lowest rating since it came to office more than a year ago.

The newspaper writes that the main cause of the government's falling prestige is the growing crime rate, lawlessness and open scandals.

The opinion poll was held Nov. 11-17 and involved 1,000 respondents. Forty-seven percent of the respondents were men and 52 percent women; 62 percent Estonians, 30 percent Russians and the rest representatives of other nationalities.

Latvia

Pavlovskis Signs Agreement With Czech Republic

LD0212174193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] After a visit to the Czech Republic by a delegation from the Latvian Defense Ministry, Defense Minister Valdis Pavlovskis today told a news conference that an agreement on cooperation has been signed between the Latvian and Czech Defense Ministries. The signing of the cooperation agreement was the main objective of the visit.

The agreement provides for cooperation between working groups of military branches of both states, exchange of information, cooperation in improving the system of military training, and material and technical assistance.

Because the Czech Republic has to reduce the amount of weapons and military equipment by the end of the year, the delegation from the Latvian Defense Ministry discussed the possibility of acquiring Czech weapons. As Valdis Pavlovskis said, a request for free weapons and military equipment was rejected. However, according to the Czech Defense Ministry, the Czech Government will be able to grant the Latvian Defense Ministry a loan of 2 million korunas for the acquisition of weapons.

Possible assistance to the Latvian Air Force was also discussed during the meeting.

Lithuania

Slezevicius Says Lithuania Seeks To Join NATO

LD0212172593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1441 GMT 2 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius December 2 TASS—"Since in its foreign policy Lithuania is seeking to integrate as soon as possible into West European economic structures, its desire to join NATO is quite justified and logical", Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius told a news conference at the government headquarters on Thursday.

"We understand that this is a long-term process, but we have already set our mind on entering NATO and we will consistently tread this path", he noted.

Touching upon ties with Russia, the republic's prime minister said "Lithuania will work for equitable, mutually beneficial and respectful relations with Moscow". Although, he criticized Russia's new military doctrine describing it as "pressure by a great power upon small states, and in this sense it does not suit us".

Slezevicius told reporters that a decision would be announced within the next few days about "linking" Lithuanian national currency, the litas, to one West European monetary unit only. He declined to name the unit, however the republic's financial circles widely believe this will be the Deutsche mark. According to the prime minister, "this move will help stabilize the litas and improve the economy. This way is also being followed by Estonia which has already made considerable progress", Slezevicius noted.

Danish Minister's Radiation Claims Dismissed

LD0212143193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2000 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] According to the chief of the Lithuanian nuclear energy security inspection, Mr. [name indistinct], the statement made by Denmark's energetics minister, Jann Sjursen, to the effect that the Ignalina nuclear power plant must be closed down reflected a political standpoint which was not based on scientific research.

After his recent trip to Lithuania, Mr. Sjursen stated that during the two hours spent at the Ignalina nuclear power plant he had received a radiation dose amounting to that emitted by natural surroundings over a period of two days.

Lithuanian specialists maintain meanwhile that Mr. Sjursen could not have received a radiation dose exceeding 1.5 millibars. According to the established norms the personnel of the nuclear power plant can get 20 millibars of radiation per shift. [Name indistinct] also said that two major international projects are being currently implemented which should help to scientifically assess the unsafety level of the Chernobyl [words indistinct]

Results of LDDP Annual Survey on Government

WS0212103093 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 11 Nov 93 No. 219 p 7

[Report by the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, LDDP, group for coordinating information and propaganda: "A Year in the Government. What Has Been Accomplished?"]

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian Government has implemented a consistent policy toward stabilizing people's lives over the entire period of its activities.

Trying to halt a drop in the people's living standard, the government devoted most of its attention to curbing inflation and slowing it down. Between January and September of 1992, inflation was more than 544 percent, while during the same period of this year it dropped fourfold—to 137 percent. In July, August, and September, inflation was running only at 2.9, 0.9, and 4.2 percent, respectively.

The following data illustrate the change of the inflation rate (in percent):

Months	Years	
	1993	1992
1. January-September	137.1	544.6
2. April-September	61.9	148.7
3. June	6.2	12.3
4. July	2.9	27.2
5. August	0.9	14.2
6. September	4.2	29.4

Inflation reduction allowed the government to increase salaries for workers of state-financed institutions and organizations, differentiate them, and upgrade the system of wages. Between April and September of 1993, the government issued resolutions increasing wages of all state-financed employees by 69.6 percent, teachers—100.4 percent, health care personnel—99.8 percent, and cultural workers—92.7 percent. [passage omitted]

The government managed to halt the drop in real wages by curbing inflation and regulating earnings. Real wages have not only remained stable but also increased slightly since June of this year. Between June and September, real wages rose by almost 12 percent.

The following data show the change in real wages (increase (+) percent, decrease (-) percent):

Months	Years	
	1993	1992
1. January-September	- 1.7	- 44.5
2. June	+ 5.2	+ 2.3
3. July	+ 3.4	- 16.7
4. August	+ 1.3	- 7.4
5. September	+ 1.5	- 7.6

[passage omitted] Old age security is an important concern of the government. Therefore, pensions were increased more rapidly than wages. Between January and September of this year, pensions (excluding social bonuses) rose 2.6 times.

As much as possible, the government has also taken into account other needs of pensioners, disabled persons, and those who require social support. [passage omitted]

The situation on the labor market has improved. The most important issue is that the unemployment rate has slowed down. For example, in March and July of 1993, the number of unemployed people rose by 7 and 2 percent, respectively, while in August and September it dropped by 1.5 and 1 percent. This was achieved for the first time over the last year and a half. The total of employed people has increased. Of all job-seekers, 2.3 and 4.7 percent were employed in March and September, respectively. The number of people registered with the labor exchange was 7.2 percent lower in September than in August. This was achieved by implementing regional programs of employment and various measures for preserving jobs, coordinating labor supply and demand, professionally training adults, and returning unemployed persons to work.

The situation on the labor market is illustrated by the following data:

Months	Number of job seekers registered	Number of unemployed registered	Compared to months of last year (percent)	Unemployment rate (percent)	Rate of employed job seekers (percent)
93.03	99,800	29,200	1.069	1.6	2.3
93.04	100,800	30,100	1.030	1.6	3.3
93.05	97,000	31,500	1.046	1.7	4.4
93.06	87,400	32,200	1.022	1.7	4.7
93.07	80,800	32,900	1.022	1.8	4.3
93.08	72,400	32,400	0.985	1.7	4.6
93.09	67,200	32,100	0.990	1.7	4.7

Implementing its social program and considering its financial possibilities, the government will try to gradually establish real minimum wages (according to the minimum consumer basket), which will allow for an increase in wages and social support for families.

In the sphere of wage regulation, the most important issue is reducing the discrepancy between the wages of budget institutions and those of the entire state sector. The immediate goal is to have average wages of employees at budget-financed institutions and organizations account for at least 80 percent of the wages earned in the entire state sector (contrary to the current 71 percent).

Pensions depend on the revenues of the state social insurance budget. The government expects to preserve the existing tradition of increasing pensions more rapidly than wages. The government's goal is to have the average pensions accounting for at least 50 percent of the average net wages of employees in the state sector. [passage omitted]

The government is observing the situation in the labor market and reacting adequately. To this end, regional employment programs must be drafted and job seekers must be trained and retrained in all cities and regions.

[Signed] Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party group for coordinating information and propaganda